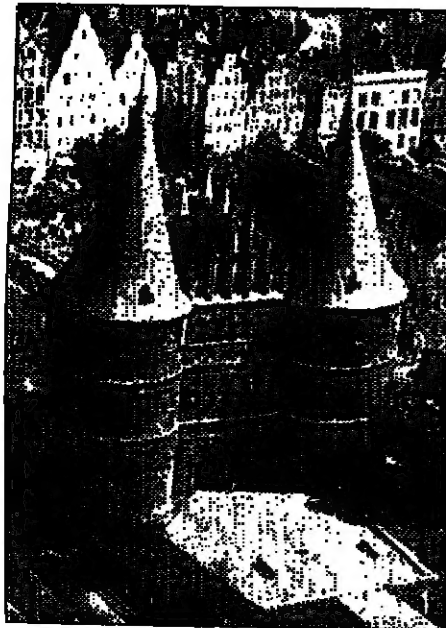


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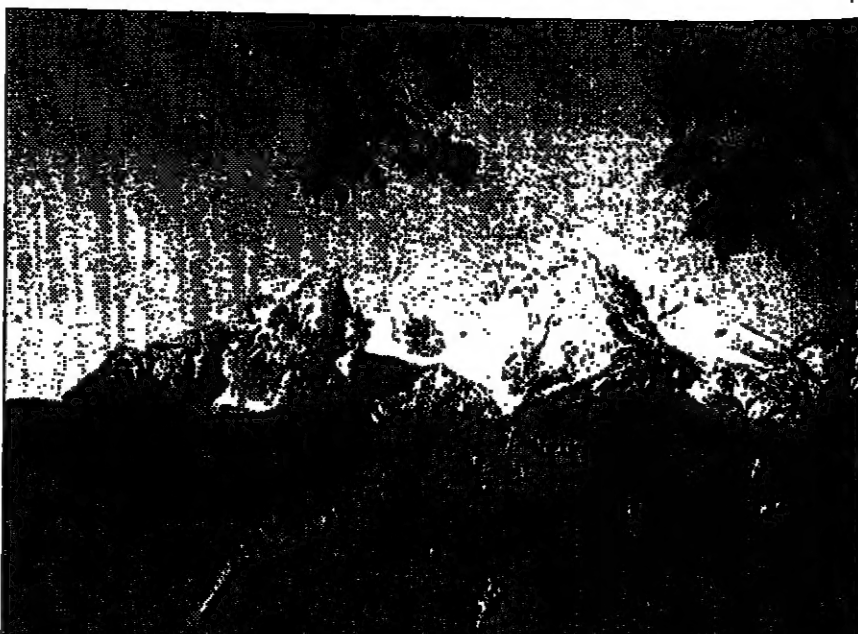
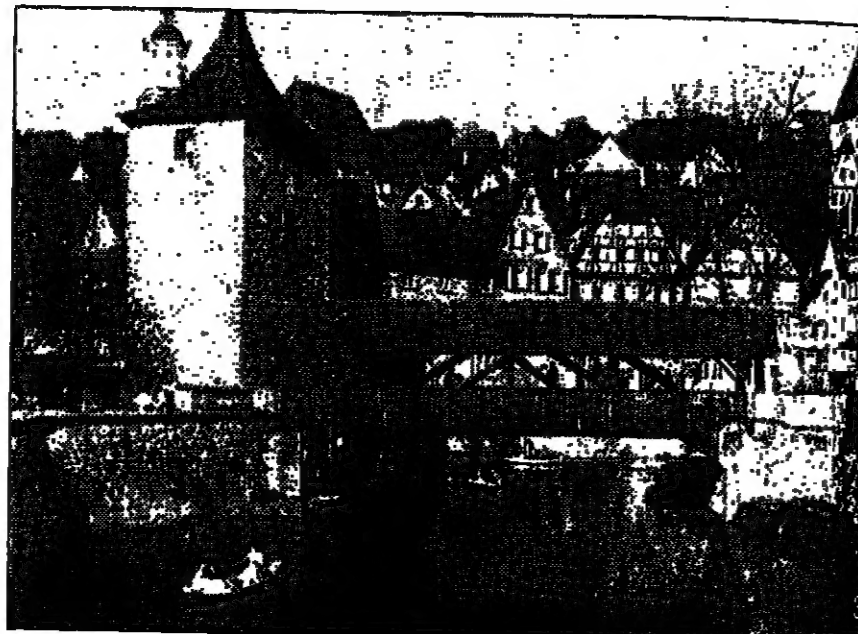
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Ostpolitik: the Soviet Union plays another hand

The Soviet Union is trying to persuade Western European countries to come closer to its own views. It is calling for priority to be given to security issues in its relations with these countries.

Moscow thinks that by subtle linking of security policy behaviour of a country to its relations with that country, it might be able to succeed, especially as many Western European nations want easier relations with Eastern Europe.

It is the Soviet Union planning to make its relations with Western European countries subject to their security policy.

In the Bonn Foreign Ministry the quest for an answer to this question is based on Foreign Minister Genscher's talks with Mr. Gorbachev and Chancellor Kohl's discussions with Mr. Gorbachev after the funeral of the late Mr. Chernenko.

Soviet diplomats in Bonn are now mentioning a report on a meeting of the Soviet Politburo at which consequences were drawn from the talks held by Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Gromyko with various Western European leaders in Moscow for Mr. Chernenko.

The Soviet diplomats say each of these points dealt with in a separate paragraph of the Politburo's records, with special importance being attached to security issues.

Security interests must not, however, be seen as a condition or sine qua non of other relations.

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IMPROVEMENTS in bilateral ties; the emphasis on them was merely in keeping with the importance of security issues for all countries, especially in view of the Geneva disarmament talks and the US aim of developing space weapons.

The Soviet diplomats are trying to create the impression that it is not just a matter of Soviet security interests but also of the interests of other countries, such as the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Bonn government has long been making Soviet bids to harness the resources of some Western Europeans have been Washington's 'space plans' to play off Europeans off against the Americans.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

and heighten as far as possible differences of interest between Nato countries.

The aim of this campaign is to exert lateral pressure in support of the Soviet approach to the Geneva talks.

Bonn diplomats and foreign policy experts agree that the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union outwardly have much in common. They both feel the time is ripe for a new leaf in Ostpolitik, for instance.

But the Soviet Union is more interested in reverting to the détente policy of the 1970s, whereas Bonn is keen to avoid repeating mistakes made a decade or so ago and prefers to emphasise what it hopes will be new about the new era.

Moscow says that security problems must not be disregarded in ordering relations; they must indeed be given immediate consideration.

Bonn recalls with displeasure that the Salt treaties between America and Russia at times disregarded European interests, allowing a "grey" or undefined, intermediate zone to take shape.

It took a fresh arms build-up by the West, including Nato missile deployment in Western Europe, to bridge this gap, and it proved an extremely difficult task. So Bonn, while in principle favouring early consideration of security policy, would prefer to develop the whole range of relations as well, including economic ties, the arts and environmental protection. The Soviet Union is now clearly trying to use its call for priority to be given to security issues as a lever

to persuade Western European countries to come closer to the Soviet viewpoint. The Kremlin feels they well might, especially as many of them, including the Federal Republic, are keen to establish easier relations with Eastern Europe in many sectors. But this means of exerting pressure is only being shown in camouflage and not as a blunt instrument, or so Bonn diplomats feel. If this reading of the situation is correct, Moscow does not want to be committed to tough terms such as that the Western Europeans must first be obliging, then further details can be arranged.

Bonn sees the Soviet Union as both threatening to exert general pressure and using the situation as a fig-leaf to cover relations with the smaller Warsaw Pact countries. The threat is apparent when Soviet sources note that progress in East-West ties would be possible if only greater agreement could be reached on security issues. Security, it is explained, is the same for the Soviet Union as for the



Award for Sir Alec

Sir Alec Guinness, the British actor, visited Hamburg to receive the Shakespeare Prize of the FVS Foundation. The prize, worth DM25,000, was presented by Birte Toepfer (right) the daughter-in-law of the foundation's founder, Alfred C. Toepfer. (Photo: dpa)

West. This reminder is linked with an appeal to the Europeans' (and the Germans') responsibility for peace.

The Soviet leaders are also felt in Bonn probably to be using this play with priorities as a "fig-leaf" to cover up for the disparity between gloomy forecasts to smaller Warsaw Pact countries of the shape of things to come after Nato missile deployment and current Soviet readiness to call an end to the "ice age."

Several communist countries have lately shown willingness to cooperate with the West in many sectors, but have invariably headed the list, arguably with a glance in Moscow's direction, with security issues.

This certainly seems to be true of the GDR.

Western behaviour is probably being monitored by the Soviet Union, or so Bonn experts feel, to see whether the current ambivalence should be geared toward greater pressure or toward closer cooperation.

In saying that long-term relations with the Soviet Union could favourably influence security matters, Herr Genscher has given Moscow to understand that as far as Bonn is concerned "first" and "then" can only be set about in the reverse order.

Claus Gennrich
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 23 March 1985)

Reagan gives Germans a hint for VE-day anniversary

Germans should not celebrate the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War as an occasion for reflecting on guilt and defeat, says President Reagan.

They should observe it more cheerfully as the 40th anniversary of peace and friendship with Germany's former Western wartime enemies, he says.

The question has become an emotion-laden issue both in Germany and in many other countries.

Mr Reagan's advice reflects a sense of community honesty and deeply felt in Washington. It is also typical of the inimitable American nonchalance and speed at coming to terms with history that US politicians are given to calling emotive realism.

In appealing to the present and the future rather than for recollection of a guilt-

laden past, President Reagan's advice is also based on political calculation.

This American way of looking at the end of the Second World War spares Washington the need to recall the days when America and Russia were comrades-in-arms.

President Reagan's words have rid America's German ally of the stigma of having been a wartime enemy.

Without ceremony, almost as an aside at a press conference, he promoted Bonn to the status of a first-class ally.

The concept of German-American partnership has been given fresh meaning 40 years after the war's end.

Peter W. Schroeder
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 23 March 1985)

WORLD AFFAIRS

Mubarak gets nowhere on peace mission

After the rebuff President Mubarak's latest peace bid was given first by the Israelis, then by the Americans when he flew to Washington the Egyptian leader is not expected to have any more success with his appeal for peace to the Iranian revolutionary leader Ayatollah Khomeini.

Within 10 days President Mubarak flew to the United States via France, stopped over in Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy on his way back and then flew to Amman, where he and King Hussein paid Baghdad an unheralded visit.

He returned home empty-handed from both tours. In Cairo his unaccompanied spate of jet diplomacy is seen as actionism and as a kind of alibi.

He can now claim at least to have sought to make headway toward a peace settlement even though the prospects were poor.

President Mubarak's peace plan was doomed from the outset inasmuch as it included the PLO, which is recognised neither by the United States nor by Israel.

He proposed a three-stage plan consisting first of talks between a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation and US government envoys, then of talks expanded to include Israeli delegates and finally an international conference, including the Soviet Union.

A US State Department spokesman again made it clear that no Arab delegation must include PLO representatives.

The Americans are said to be interested in a formula that is likely to be rejected by the Arabs. The proposed delegation, it is suggested, might include Palestinians who are not formally PLO members but are accepted by Yasser Arafat.

But what justification would the PLO then retain for its existence if it were to renounce its right to represent the Palestinian people?

After the failure of President Mubarak's US visit the Egyptians are keen to play down the new peace bid he sought in vain to champion in Washington.

A Cairo University political scientist who has close political ties with the President has said the Egyptian leader might have been dealt with shabbily by the United States but describes his three-stage plan as just an idea.

President Mubarak, he argues, is keen to make sure the Palestinians are not forgotten now international attention is concentrated more on events in the Gulf and in Lebanon.

Before the Egyptian leader flew to Washington King Hussein of Jordan reluctantly endorsed the Egyptian proposals and thereby, as a Lebanese political scientist at the American University in Beirut puts it, approved their failure.

Much the same could be said of the agreement on a joint negotiating position reached not long ago by King Hussein and Mr Arafat.

It calls for an Israeli withdrawal from all territory occupied since June 1967, for a confederation of Jordan and a Palestinian state set up in these territories and for an international peace conference.

The declarations, counter-declarations, criticisms, denials and requests for amendments made by various Palestinian politicians tended more to heighten the confusion than to clarify the viewpoints of either side.

They dealt, for instance, with the recognition of UN Security Council Resolution 242 calling for an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories but not acknowledging the Palestinians' right to a state of their own.

Jordan has called for acknowledgement of the Security Council resolution; the PLO has formally rejected it. All that can be said for sure is that the Israeli government has ruled any such idea out.

Arab and foreign analysts came to suspect that the agreement was realised from the outset by both the Jordanians and the Palestinians to be doomed to failure. So it was no more than a gesture of good will on jointly coming closer to a solution of the Palestinian question.

What the Egyptians, Jordanians and Palestinians currently want, as Arab and foreign analysts see it, is for Egypt, Jordan, Mr Arafat's PLO and Iraq to come close together and form what is sometimes termed an axis or an alliance.

President Mubarak's visit to Baghdad makes sense in this context even though Arab leaders still refuse to exchange ambassadors with him.

In 1978 President Saddam Hussein of Iraq hosted an Arab summit conference at which, following the 1977 Camp David agreement between Egypt and Israel, it was agreed to boycott Egypt.

Iraq would clearly prefer not to break ranks as Jordan did last September and resume diplomatic ties with Cairo without a resolution to that effect at an Arab summit conference.

If it were to do so it would particularly upset Saudi Arabia and its Gulf allies. But relations between Egypt and Iraq have long improved, given that Iraq needs Egyptian arms assistance in its war with Iran.

President Mubarak wasn't deterred from visiting Baghdad by the fact that

his government has no formal ties with Iraq. He said afterwards that the visit had been made "within the framework of friendship between our two peoples."

An attempt was made by the Egyptians to divert attention from the fact that President Mubarak returned from Baghdad without having been able to reach agreement on a resumption of full diplomatic relations.

Information Minister Safwat al Sharif said the visit showed how ready President Mubarak was to set aside formalities. The destiny of the Arab nation did not depend on ambassadorial appointments.

Fresh arms supplies to Iraq are said by the Egyptian leader not to have been discussed either. Iraq needed no further military support.

Over and above a gesture of solidarity with quasi-ally Iraq, President Mubarak sought both by his lightning visit to Baghdad and his failed peace bid to re-emphasise Egypt's claim to a role as regional power.

His Information Minister called the visit a "true expression of Egypt's regional role and historic responsibility."

In an Egyptian newspaper commentary President Mubarak was said to have sounded a powerful sign that

Continued on page 8

Iran, Iraq fight on as the bodies slide into the sludge

The war between Arab Iraq with its socialist orientation and the non-Arab Islamic Republic of Iran is basically a battle of ideologies.

It is also a battle between the two personalities that have come to symbolise them: President Saddam Hussein of Iraq and Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran.

The self-glorification on which their respective domestic power is based, coupled in Khomeini's case with the illusion of invulnerability given by Islam, accounts for the savage remorselessness with which the war is waged.

In the marshland near Basrah in southern Iraq mountains of corpses sink slowly into the sludge — an appalling scenario screened nightly on Iranian and Iraqi TV.

War propagandists on both sides do their utmost to quantify heavy enemy losses as proof of their own country's success, making out manslaughter to be its yardstick.

Perplexed and increasingly alarmed, countries not immediately concerned follow the course of violence as though they had something to do with it.

They are deluding themselves. At no time has a serious and sufficiently emphatic attempt been made to stem the tide of escalation. The others were happy to let the conflict simmer.

Political and economic interests have determined everyone's viewpoint.

The relentless fighting between neighbouring arch-rivals Iraq and Iran has cost the conservative oil sheikhs and petro-monarchies a fortune but they are happy to pay fellow-Arab Iraq whose bombastic behaviour assumed alarming proportions in the pre-war era.

The war, oil-rich countries may well feel, blocks both Iraq's claims to Arab leadership and the Shi'ite ideological imperialism of Iran.

The Gulf War also provides all interested parties with an opportunity of shelving a solution to the extremely difficult problem of relations between the Palestinians and Israel.

King Hussein of Jordan and President Mubarak of Egypt have had to abandon their Middle East initiative. Instead they flew to Baghdad to pledge Iraq unswerving support.

Does that perhaps mean arms supplies such as Iran is sent by Syria?

Western industrialised countries may lament such irresponsibility, saying nothing but political immaturity could account for it and nothing at all could justify it, but they themselves are not entirely blameless for the nearly five-year-old war.

They have certainly helped to fuel the fires. Unable to understand the irrationality of the clash, the West has looked on as bloodshed has continued.

There may have been occasional appeals for moderation, but they were mostly made in a low key and had no effect because the Gulf War is easy to live with and has been a moneyspinner.

It is hard to believe that political leaders in the industrialised countries have failed to realise that much of their exports to Iran and Iraq (trucks and aircraft, for instance) have been destined for military use.

Arms-buying has also been a regular

SONNTAGSBLATT

occurrence, with Iraq buying and selling openly and "legally" while Iran came by shipments illegally and by venturous means.

Both have bought arms when the opportunity arose, paying money for the privilege — money that was not invested in economic development.

Yet the West has preferred not to arrive at the conclusion that because neglect has merely lengthened bloodshed and destruction.

We have grown accustomed to living in which it would not be in the interest for either side to win — and both are oppressive and unpleasant.

If Iran were to win the floodgates of international Shi'ite belief could be opened, threatening social order in the entire Gulf region.

If Iraq were to win, Iran's religious leaders would suffer a serious loss of prestige and authority, with unpredictable consequences.

The latest Iranian offensive, most powerful yet, has shown neither side is capable of defeating the other, yet despite heavy losses still seem determined not to sue for peace.

Iran still stupidly and inflexibly holds its war aim of ousting Saddam Hussein as the cause of suffering.

The world is taken aback by the irreconcilability, while President Saddam Hussein gains merit marks. He proposed direct peace talks under a UN aegis, well knowing that none of the ruling Iranian religious leaders would be prepared to make such a gesture of submission.

Instead, massive threats were uttered in Tehran.

It may be speculation to surmise that the latest battle could prove the end of the war of ideologies in the Gulf, but it is by no means out of the question.

If the war continues it seems sure to wreak havoc and destruction in the region, but an end will only be possible when the West and the Soviet Union resolve to prevent their respective clients from buying arms either directly or indirectly.

Five years of death and destruction in the Gulf are enough.

Anneliese Wille
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 24 March 1985)

The German Tribune

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CDU CONGRESS

Geissler steals show, women steal attention

Helmut Kohl was re-elected general secretary of the Christian Democrats at a party congress in Essen, in the

Geissler, who is also Minister for Health and Family Affairs, was much the man of the conference than Chancellor, Helmut Kohl. For a

677 of the 781 delegates voted for Kohl compared with the 667 who re-elected Kohl as party chairman. See-

Geissler spoke with some inspiration. The Chancellor did not. And third, he set the tone for the congress by

the subject of women the party agreed after a day's

to a 43-point plan designed to ensure equality for women at work and at home by the year 2,000. Among

principles adopted: flexible working hours are to be urged to give women the same work opportunities; recognition should be given to the

of work by women; girls should be given a grounding in

technology, just as boys are; parents should be free to decide for themselves which one of them should

at home with the child and collect allowances.

Helmut Kohl was certain of acclamation but his speech did not inspire

Geissler the man of the moment. He made the central theme of the conference

and instilled into the delegates a ruling Iranian religious leaders would be

pared to make such a gesture of submission.

Kohl aides let it be known to the delegates that the Chancellor

shift the emphasis of his speech to "intellectual change".

But what the government's speech that the latest battle could prove the end of the war of ideologies in the

from a political-philosophical

ment in Bonn. The general secretary was there for that.

Quite a different view was taken on the conference floor. A delegate from the north said: "We at least need to have the feeling that those up there take our problems seriously."

There is no doubt that Heiner Geissler did that. He spared no one, neither his political opponents nor his party friends.

He told the Christian Democrats that those who wanted to remain in power must withstand the temptation to wield this power with arrogance.

So spoke the man who is to give up the Family Affairs portfolio that he has held at the same time as his post as the party's business manager so he can concentrate entirely on the general election in 1987.

Geissler has already got a slogan for the election in two years' time — "consolidation election". He has taken as his model the policies pursued by Konrad Adenauer in the early years of the Federal Republic — these policies began in 1949, were consolidated in 1953 and then in 1957 they were a triumphant absolute majority.

Geissler is not timid in making it clear to the CSU head Franz Josef Strauss which voter group to be energetically concerned about.

He said: "Our supporters and voters do not come from the champagne and caviar set, but where beer and liver sausage is served."

He said that the CDU must mount an offensive to create more jobs "at all levels" — among companies, workers councils and trade unions.

Finally Geissler, full of optimism, said: "The CDU must declare war

against all theorists in the state, in industry and society who always only know what is not doing well. We

need more people who will concentrate their understanding and their flair on proposals as to how something can be done

and how they themselves can contribute to the battle against un-

employment." The party had waited for words of this sort. What kind of a party conference was it without

backroom manoeuvrings behind closed doors? The victor of the Hesse

state elections and mayor of Frankfurt Walter Wall-

mann stood for the seven-man party executive along with Kurt Biedenkopf, chairman of the CDU in Rhineland-

Palatinate. It was soon confirmed what everyone suspected. Kohl's former

friend and close associate Kurt Biedenkopf did not stand a chance.

Typical for the majority voting was the Baden-Württemberg and Lower Saxony delegate debate. The general view of delegates from south-west Germany was: "Traditionally we only support victors."

CDU state chairman from Hanover Wilfried Hasselmann said among friends without contradiction that hopefully they knew on which side everyone stood.

Gisbert Kuhn
(Kieker Nachrichten, 21 March 1985)

FDP head Bangemann drops in as Kohl's party trick

FDP chairman Martin Bangemann made a surprise appearance on the platform at the CDU party conference in Essen.

It was the first time in West German politics that the chairman of one party had appeared at another party's conference.

The appearance of Bangemann, who is also Economic Affairs Minister, was the sole decision of Chancellor Helmut Kohl. He did not even tell the party executive.

It was a political demonstration. Kohl is more convinced than ever that the CDU can only get a big enough majority both in the North Rhine-Westphalia Land election in May and in the general election in 1987 with the help of the Free Democrats.

He is probably correct. But many say he is overdoing it and his support could backfire on the CDU.

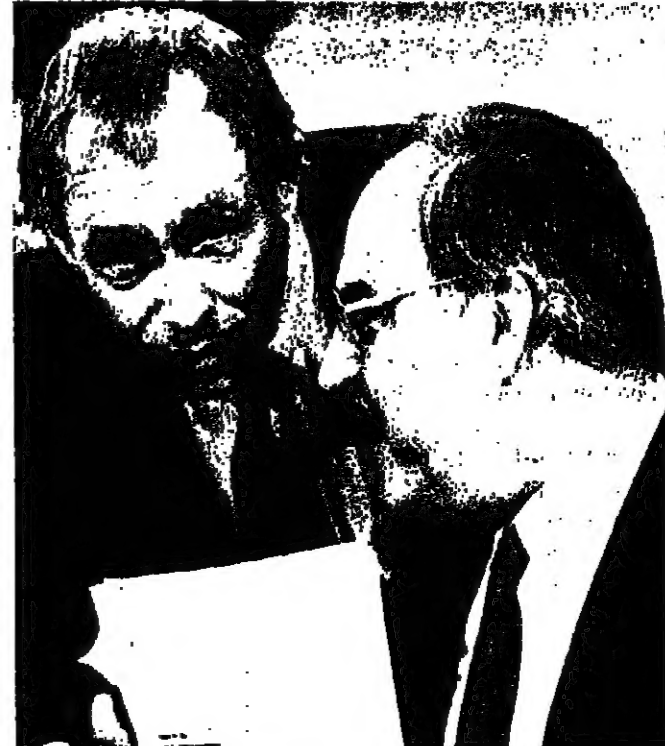
Bundestag members don't like it when they lose votes and seats to their coalition partner.

Bangemann did not speak of the historical alliance with the CDU. Instead, he saw an "historic" task that the CDU/CSU and FDP had to accomplish.

The CSU boss, Franz Josef Strauss, sick in distant Bavaria, will not have liked the display.

Bangemann invited Kohl to speak at the next FDP party conference.

Kohl brushes aside the question how he and his party would have reacted if



Keeping an eye on things... CDU party chairman Kohl (right) and general secretary Geissler. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Brandt and Genscher or Schmidt and Genscher had appeared at their respective party political conferences for propaganda purposes.

At that time the FDP was the party standing in the way of the SPD, so it was complained, and the supposition was growing that the FDP was degenerating into union with the SPD.

Kohl is at the moment politically strong. He is at the pinnacle of power. Petty backward glances get nowhere and the aim of political support justifies the means, so it is said.

Kohl was convincingly re-elected party chairman. He had to put up with 45 opposing votes this time compared with only 17 previously, but that is the price the powerful must pay. Kohl cap-

Handelsblatt

WIRTSCHAFTS-UND FINANZZEITUNG

tured 667 votes. Kohl will not have failed to observe that the national elections for the executive showed a shift in power, even though it was slight.

The CDU will not fall into the danger of assuming the role of a "voting association for the chancellor".

The party recognises that it has to fight for the votes left of centre that would fall to them out of protest at the badly managed SPD.

They will have to fight if the SPD returns to the centre, as Brandt has indicated it should, and as a credible opposition party cut the ground from under the Greens.

In Essen, Heiner Geissler, the Minister for Health and Family Affairs, was re-elected general secretary with 677 votes, a better showing than the Chancellor.

Geissler gave the Essen conference its theme — women at work, in the family and in politics.

Geissler and Employment Minister Norbert Blum both want the same things. Blum, for years the representative of the social welfare committee and the minority left wing of the party, was elected deputy party chairman with 560 votes. In front of Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg who only attracted 547, Blum and Stoltenberg cross swords on the financing of social welfare services.

And finally the West Berlin senator Ulf Fink, a pupil of Geissler's, was elected to the executive. Fink's unconventional politics have won him a reputation that extends well beyond West Berlin.

The national executive elections made it clear that the CDU takes seriously questions concerning women. Bundestag members Renate Hellwig and Roswitha Verhulsdonk were elected to the twenty-man national executive as well as the economic affairs spokeswoman and deputy chairwomen of the Westphalia CDU Christa Thoben.

Together with the Lower Saxony Economic Affairs Minister Birgit Breuel and the chairwoman of the women's association Helga Wex there are now five women on the national executive.

The West Berlin education senator Hanna Renate Laurien was elected one of Kohl's seven deputies so that in future there will be six women in senior CDU positions.

Chairman of the CDU in Westphalia, Kurt Biedenkopf, was not successful in getting elected to a deputy position.

The mayor of Frankfurt, Walter Wallmann, a friend of Kohl, was elected to the deputy chairman position vacated by Richard von Weizsäcker, now federal president.

This was a gesture to election winner Wallmann. The CDU is at the moment in considerable need of election winners.

West Berlin's mayor Eberhard Diepgen chalked up the best result for election to the national executive at the Essen conference — 699 votes.

Hans Jörg Sottorf
(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 22 March 1985)

GERMANY

Criticism of 'watered-down' Auschwitz Lie bill

A bill enabling prosecution of people who say that the Nazis did not really kill lots of people has been drawn up. Until now, private complaints could be laid against anyone who uttered the "Auschwitz Lie", but the complainant has had to be Jewish. Under the new bill, the onus has been changed. But opponents of the bill charge that it has been watered down because of the width of its proposed application to include, for example, denial of crimes against people driven from the former German territories after the war.

There are few limits to the extent both young and old Nazis will go to hide the truth.

A current example: young right-wing extremists, some wearing replicas of donkey heads, recently paraded in Hamburg with a banner saying: "What an ass I am to believe that Jews were gassed."

The *Kampfbund Deutscher Soldaten*, a neo-Nazi grouping, has even offered a reward of DM20,000 to anybody who could prove that even one Jew was gassed by the Nazis in the concentration camps.

They would not, of course, accept evidence from Jews, Poles or Germans who oppose Nazi ideals.

Books, brochures and pamphlets denying or playing down the significance

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

of the millionfold murder in Nazi Germany can be frequently found in right-wing extremist circles.

Young people who have not been given a clear picture of the darkest chapter in German history at school or at home are particularly susceptible for this kind of outrageous venom, which is often called the "Auschwitz lie".

Up to now, it has been difficult to legally prosecute this kind of historical misrepresentation.

A democratic state, however, should have the power to ban this sort of propaganda.

Many of the relatives of the survivors or victims of the holocaust who went through Nazi terror themselves find it extremely difficult to hear this sort of allegation.

Many people quite rightly feel that the reappraisal of recent German history cannot primarily be a matter for the courts.

However, the courts cannot just sit back and do nothing if the often demanded "intellectual confrontation" with the roots and consequences of Hitler's inhumane system of terror bears no fruit or even creates a quite open counter movement.

The Minister of Justice, Hans Engelhardt, (FDP) took up the idea suggested by his SPD predecessor in office and drew up plans to give public prosecutors and judges the tools needed to tackle the task: a special law against the "Auschwitz lie" providing severe penalties for people who deny that murders took place in the concentration camp.

However, what is left of Engelhardt's plans after a particularly embarrassing political debate is not good enough.

The compromise reached by the government coalition parties does not satisfy demands. The courts are going to find it difficult to do a proper job with the help of the new legal provisions.

The government's legal text has a lot of weak points.

In future, slander and/or libel can be officially prosecuted if somebody is disparaged or defamed "who lost his/her life as a victim of National Socialist or any other tyrannical or despotic rule".

The paper does represent a definite step forward by obliging the public prosecutor to take legal action himself as soon as he is informed of such an offence.

The institution of legal proceedings by the person directly affected is no longer needed to set the wheels of justice in motion.

Admittedly, the fact that the "Auschwitz lie" is not — as originally planned — treated as a special case under criminal law but simply classed as defamation is worthy of criticism.

It seems rather odd that from now on anyone who disputes the gassing of the Jews will be judged according to the same criteria as someone who calls his neighbour a rogue.

This gives the "Auschwitz lie" a very low legal status, since defamation is not even regarded as a serious offence and usually punished by imposing a fine.

The Association of German Judges fears that it is going to be "difficult, if not impossible" in practice to prove that those who deny the Nazi crimes have in fact deliberately insulted a specific Jewish person or any other concentration camp victim.

There are also misgivings about the coalition's intention to extend the scope of this law to include all the victims of "other tyrannical or despotic systems".

This broader application above all bears the mark of the CSU, which wanted to see the denial of the crimes committed against those Germans driven out of the former German territories in Eastern Europe punished too.

However, doubts are in order about the need for such an extension as there is no campaign denying these crimes which in any way resembles the "Auschwitz lie" campaign.

The law's extended area of application is more likely to foster the practice of trying to make exaggeratedly comprehensive reparations to all groups, an approach which has often stood in the way of a real solution in post-war Germany.

What the legislator has now pieced together may soon be giving the courts a headache.

How are those slanderers and libellers to be treated who deny that there is mass murder in Chile or Argentina, that people are butchered to death in Uganda or that people lose their lives in the Soviet sphere of influence?

The SPD's legal expert, Alfred Emmerlich, is not the only person who fears that the courts could become "referees in disputes on present, past and future systems of rule or social systems".

The coalition got unnecessarily Continued on page 6

The proposal

After many years of to-ing and fro-ing on how to prosecute in so-called "Auschwitz Lie" cases, the government parties have reached a compromise.

A bill now being considered provides for prosecution for anyone who insults, slanders, libels or disparages people who "lost their lives as victims of National Socialist or other tyrannical or despotic rule".

The only exception is if relatives of the deceased expressly refuse to allow the public prosecutors to take mandatory legal action.

This not only makes the denial of the murder of Jews in concentration camps during the Nazi dictatorship a punishable offence without the need for an official application, but also punishes the denial of other victims of Nazi terror, for example, resistance fighters.

Contrary to previous intentions, "other forms of tyranny and despotic rule" have also been included in the compromise, mainly at the insistence of the CDU and CSU.

This was apparently an attempt to ensure that the denial of crimes committed against German expellees after the Second World War would also be punished.

In addition, the coalition agreed to ban imports of right-wing extremist publications and Nazi emblems.

The head of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group, Alfred Dregger, who previously declared the law to be superfluous, said: "It will be a matter for the courts how the new law is applied."

Legal experts, however, already predict problems with regard to the wording of the bill.

The legal text has to be formulated in such a way as to enable the courts to apply the law in practice.

Up to now, both the SPD and the Greens have rejected the extension of the offences covered by the bill above and beyond the "Auschwitz lie".

However, during the Bundestag debate on the bill, opposition parties did not indicate whether they would reject or approve it.

The SPD Bundestag member Manfred Schmidt as well as Otto Scholz from the Greens criticised the fact that the law treats the unique mass murder of the Jews just like any other crime.

This encourages the practice of trying to make exaggeratedly comprehensive reparations for all groups.

Minister of Justice, Hans Engelhardt, (FDP) hopes that these new legal provisions will act as a reference point for decisions in the future.

Soon there will be no more survivors of the holocaust able to tell of their experiences.

Neo-Nazi publications would then increase efforts and "distort the past in the most disgusting way".

This must be prevented by "effective" legal stipulations to protect the Jewish people and Germany's image.

The Federal Republic of Germany can only endure "if we do not get away from the black depths of our past or forget our history", said Engelhardt (Hamburger Abendblatt, 15 March 1985).

PERSPECTIVE

US ambassador Burns talks about Germany

Frank Burns, who has been the American ambassador in Bonn for nearly 10 years, was born in the Galician town of Stanislaw in former Austria-Hungary (now part of the Soviet Union) on 27 April 1904. The Jewish family emigrated to the USA in 1910. Between 1933 and 1937, Burns was research director at the National Bureau for Economic Research. He became chairman of the board of directors. In 1970, he was appointed president of the Federal Reserve Board, the American central bank. He became American US ambassador to Bonn in June 1981.

Burns says he has an intuitive feeling that Germany will one day be reunited.

He told correspondents in Bonn at a press conference that the division of Germany was an "unnatural state of affairs" and "cannot last for ever".

He leisurely and dignified atmosphere of his residence in Bonn's Roonstrasse 67, the pipe-smoking ambassador confessed that after four years in Bonn he had found it "not difficult" to adjust to life in Germany; that's not difficult. Germans are friendly and the German countryside enchanting.

However, he could no longer hold up Germany as a model for others: "Americans work harder."

As an economist, he will be leaving Bonn for President Reagan's state visit in Bonn. He was economic adviser to former President Dwight D. Eisenhower in the fifties.

He has never lost the status of a first-class international economics expert. Friedman, for example, was one of his pupils.

In his opinion, the following reasons are to blame for the "lack of dynamics" in the German economy:

• The German working week is one of the shortest in the world.

• Long holidays, stays in health resorts and too many public holidays, all of which undermine the working morale.

• Wages are too high, a result of the high level of government spending since 1970, whose share in the GNP increased from 37 per cent in 1970 to 50 per cent today.

• Business profits are too low. Burns sees this as a "major indicator of the health of the economy, since they induce employers to step up investments."

• The unions are more powerful than in the USA. Burns points towards the numerous high-technology centres in the USA, "where no single research institution is the German job market is 'too rigid'."

• The Federal Republic cash increase in the standard wage rate jacks up wages everywhere in the entire sector affected, regardless of sectoral productivity differences.

Burns feels there is too much "unemployment" in this respect.

He calls to mind the Japanese example, where financial bonuses are paid twice as much as the basic wage rates.

In the USA, wages may rise in areas where more successful markets, whereas they may fall in the less prosperous areas of industry.

DIE WELT

• the Europeans — the ambassador does not limit his comments to Germany this time — are "less prepared than Americans to take risks". If a business venture fails in Germany or Europe, it's "the end of the road".

"In America, you get a second or even third chance", said Burns. "European bankers are pretty conservative."

However, Arthur Burns does have a few optimistic things to say about the West German economy.

He acknowledges the efforts being made to remedy the faults: the pruning of social spending, the planned tax reforms, the privatisation projects, the Employment Promotion Law — all of which make him feel "optimistic about the country's future".

Burns frankly admits: "Impatient as I am, I feel that these changes are too slow."

In contrast to this sober analysis of the economic situation, Burns talked about topics such as reunification, patriotism or the stability of democracy in the Federal Republic with the zeal of unlimited optimism.

"I would like to see reunification with all my heart", he said, "for you have a broken country, a divided people, and that's bound to gnaw at the German soul."

Although Burns has no patent remedies, he does harbour "an intuitive feeling of certainty that reunification will come." However, not in a situation of German neutrality. The vast majority of the German population fully supports NATO and the security commitments to the alliance.

As during many of his appearances over the past four years Arthur Burns again stressed Germany's historical significance and — even allowing for the tragedies — the "triumphs and successes of which all Germans, in particular young Germans, can be proud."

He referred to the unique German achievements in the fields of music, literature and architecture, and added: "My wife and I were impressed most by the Germans' love of music and fine arts."

He also, however, recalled historical

I'm unhappy when I hear intelligent Germans refer to the Turks with contempt

events such as the Berlin airlift, where the citizens of Berlin turned down the Soviet offer to provide food and energy supplies, preferring to try to survive with the help of supplies flown into the city by the western allies.

"The Berlin population knew that the acceptance of the Soviet offer would have meant the loss of their freedom."

Young Germans should be "proud of the sacrifices made by their parents and grandparents after the war".

The ambassador is known to be con-



Ambassador Burns (left) and Chancellor Kohl... changes needed, Herr Chancellor. (Photo: dpa)

cerned about the fact that many young Germans today are not aware of these and other historical facts.

"There are so many things in German history of which they can be proud", Burns emphasised. "I hope that teachers at school, parents at home, clergymen in the churches and politicians in their constituencies get this across to young people."

This appeal was followed by impassioned digression on the subject of patriotism, the meaning and importance of which is marked by a "certain degree of confusion" in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In vivid words, Burns stated: "Patriotism, the love of one's own country, is a natural and constructive impulse; for it gives us hope for the future, hope for ourselves, hope for our families, our communities, our own country."

"Nationalism is a different matter altogether... The Nazi past is something no-one ever wishes to see again. However, that has nothing to do with the question of patriotism." Chancellor Kohl should be congratulated for once again using the word *Vaterland*.

Arthur Burns also wishes to congratulate German democracy for he feels that it has recently passed the test of its stability with flying colours.

The German-American relationship is in an "excellent" state; in fact, it is "probably difficult" to find a better one in the whole post-war period.

The quality of this relationship owes a great deal to the relationship between President Reagan and Chancellor Kohl.

"Both", Burns points out, "have very much the same philosophical position. Both are by nature optimistic, like to tell stories, and do not like getting bogged down in unnecessary details."

Burns has the deepest respect for former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

Admittedly, however, anyone with an ear for nuances will have noticed that there was a touch of criticism in Burns' praise for Schmidt.

The older of the two Grand Masters of global economic analysis expressed his regret at Schmidt's often sharp-tongued approach to the Americans.

In his eyes, this was frequently exaggerated and counterproductive.

Burns showed just how closely foreigners keep an eye on their German contemporaries when asked about his most unpleasant experience during the last four years in Bonn.

Hesitating only briefly, he replied: "I am sometimes very unhappy when I hear intelligent, well-educated and responsible German citizens talk of Turks with a hint of contempt. This is something I do not at all like, something which I found disturbing."

By no means discretely, Burns passed comment on the accusation that the Americans are moving away from the Europeans and towards the Asians.

The economics professor pointed out that this region has the world's fastest-growing markets and the most liberal economies.

However, Europeans should take care not to draw the wrong conclusions from this fact.

"You overlook the fact that even though our money is in Asia our heart — and a substantial amount of money too — is in Europe."

"Our interest in the Far East may be growing, but our interest in Europe is not one iota less." And anyway: why the complaints about the American drift towards the Asians? "Follow our exam-

'Too-many holidays, too-high taxes, too-low profits and too-strong unions'

ple", Burns advises the Europeans, "move into this region too!"

The security ties between Europe and America are so important to Burns that he openly criticises one of his friends, Senator Sam Nunn, for trying to spur on the Europeans to increase their defence spending by hinting at the possibility of reducing the number of American troops in Europe.

"By doing this, Nunn is threatening the Europeans", Burns remarks, in blatant disregard of the maxim that "you should never injure somebody else's pride."

"I feel that Nunn's approach is the wrong way to go about things", says Burns, "even though I share Nunn's objective: to persuade the Europeans to do more for our common defence."

Looking refreshed as if he had just had an intellectual sauna, Burns waited for the final and predictable question: does the almost 81-year-old ambassador feel that his successor, 38-year-old Richard Burt, will do a better job?

Will Burt, currently director for European affairs in the State Department, be able to adequately fill the gap?

Like Burns, Burt is not a careerist, but was lifted into the new position by the grace of presidential decision, very much in the style of an absolutist monarchy.

The grand old man Burns was apparently ready for this question; his answer at any rate sounded well-prepared: "My successor, Richard Burt, is a brilliant young man, and I am sure he will make a good showing."

Thomas Kielinger (Die Welt, Bonn, 18 March 1985)

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■ LABOUR

Employers 'face disincentives to hire'

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

A record amount of overtime is being worked in West Germany in spite of record unemployment of 2.6 million.

A big reason is that it is cheaper than hiring extra staff. A firm can simply stop overtime during slack periods. This is cheaper than putting off staff.

Legislators and administrators are worried about this trend. Employment Minister Norbert Blum says the social idea of making it difficult for a firm to lay people off has hefty unsocial consequences.

He wants it to be possible for firms to be able to make contracts with workers for stipulated periods of up to 18 months.

However, there are a whole host of other regulations discouraging employers from hiring staff, according to a study by a Bonn-based institute and the Koblenz chamber of commerce.

Two hundred small to medium-sized firms within the Koblenz area were questioned.

The overwhelming conclusion was that employers are put off hiring because of a great number of official hindrances.

The effects of a whole cluster of social legislation oppressed many firms. So did the many changes in regulations.

Laws in three areas were found to be the main culprits in either causing management to defer decisions or not make them at all.

They were those involving sickness payments, badly-handicapped people and firing staff.

In addition, legislation protecting pregnant women discouraged firms from hiring young women.

Managements were concerned at the abuse of sick pay laws (firms pay the first six weeks off, after which wages are paid by the health insurance schemes) and tend to introduce mechanisation where possible in preference to people.

The survey confirmed what experts have long known: many firms introduce high cost rationalisation investment to avoid the cost of paying for ill workers over extended periods.

Many businessmen described their personal experiences in the survey. One company had more than once sacked a worker, who had then gone sick and had therefore drawn full pay for weeks.

In cases where the full six weeks' sick pay was drawn and the worker was required to go to an independent doctor for another opinion, a sudden recovery would take place.

Employers were tending to take on older women because of the stiff regulations governing pregnant women.

One company reported that one or two more regular workers were needed, but social legislation excluded this.

"We are getting help in production from four temporary workers," said one company director.

Another director said that plans to expand had been scrapped because of regulations that made it financially im-

possible. He said: "This has prevented the creation of eight jobs."

The view is that the Kohl government should halt the further development of social legislation when it affects businesses. But there can be no talk of putting a stop to this.

Plans are in the pipeline for the introduction of up to a year off for bringing up children. According to Family Affairs Minister Heiner Geissler this will be linked to a job guarantee.

The intention might be lofty. The effect is less so.

Employers do not like the job guarantee one little bit. It limits their staff flexibility even more. This applies to small and medium-sized undertakings.

The unpleasant consequence is that employers will not take on young women.

Geissler tries to weaken this argument by reference to experience abroad. He says that in some European countries, job guarantees already existed. And yet the number of women employed in these countries was not lower than in West Germany.

Geissler's percentages alone do not do much. They must at least be divided up into age groups. Even then a comparison has doubtful results because the social systems of the various countries are very different.

The total economic harm done by the excessive social legislation is not known. But there are reliable estimates what the six-week sickness payment obligation costs.

According to the social report for 1983 remuneration under this heading cost employers a good DM23 billion. By 1987 it will be DM29 billion.

These costs are a growing part of personnel costs.

The Institute for the German Economy in Cologne reckons that supplementary payments, including items such as sick pay, reached record levels last year.

In the manufacturing industries it has climbed 1.3 per cent to 79.6 per cent of a month's wages or salary. This year it will reach 80 per cent.

Between 1966 and 1984, additional personnel costs increased on average a good ten per cent per year.

That is colossal: in 1966 these costs were DM4,000 per worker. Last year they were almost DM24,000.

Complaints from trade and industry that the government is responsible are not quite correct. It is true that in the last few years additional costs for personnel have not remained static — mainly the social welfare contributions made by the employer — but they have increased less than wages and salaries.

Company executives moan loud and long about social welfare costs, but they say very little about, for example the fact that they have allowed holidays to increase so much that that is now costing them just as dearly as for pensions and sickness insurance. Paul Bellinghausen

(Rheinische Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 16 March 1985)

Continued from page 4

bogged down in its compromise paper. What was needed was a political signal that the Federal Republic of Germany is not willing to allow the historically unique genocide carried out by the Nazis to be played down.

The final result is a law which treats this horrendous atrocity just like any "other" crime.

This is not exactly a convincing move on the eve of 8 May, the day marking the new beginning for all Germans following the barbarity of the Hitler era.

Joachim Hauck

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 19 March 1985)

A 50-year-old tells about life on the dole

Richard Mayer is 50 years of age, slim, bearded, friendly, unmarried and unemployed.

We are sitting in his modest flat. He is wearing a knitted jacket and a track suit. The fire is turned down as low as possible.

"The whole business of being unemployed knocks a man round," he says. The routine of his life has gone.

"When you are working you don't have to think. The alarm clock rings and you get up and go off to work. In the evening you can do what you like. And now? In the morning you don't know where to begin. Midday nothing and the evening as well.

"I don't know if it is easier for the young people. They are probably not so fixed in their ways."

Mayer worked in the steel industry in the Saar from his youth. He began as a rolling mill worker. He is a skilled man and earned DM1,500 per month in shifts with only 13 Sundays a year free.

Then came the steel crisis and mass dismissals.

He wasn't one of those sacked, but he saw the writing on the wall and went to the labour office for advice.

"They said I should get some qualifications. Otherwise the future would be bleak."

He made up his mind. He left the steel industry and moved to Frankfurt to be retrained as an electrician.

After two years he passed his examinations. But he could not get a job: "People turn up their noses at people my age," he said.

He found a temporary job for three months. Then he had to look round again. He wrote for every suitable job he saw in the papers.

One day he was given an interview — and he got the job.

For two years, he worked for a surveying and measuring technology company for two years, testing breakdowns and repairing defect instruments. He enjoyed the work.

"One Friday afternoon the foreman came to me and said that I was wanted in the personnel office."

Hundreds of fellow workers were apparently being made redundant. Mayer was not long in the personnel office. He had no children. No problems there. Out.

Did he think that the man in the personnel office was in any way disturbed at having to release people?

Mayer said: "No, for them it's just a matter of figures. I did not notice they were particularly concerned."

He set about applying for jobs, ringing up firms that put advertisements in the papers. More often than not he was not asked to come for an interview, although he had good references.

He collected all the rejections in a file. His energy did not last long.

He said: "After two months I could not get up enough enthusiasm to pick up the papers and sit down and write after jobs. That sounds odd, but it is true. Somehow you get the guts knocked out of you."

He had become unemployed at the end of March last year. At the end of June he was taken on by a Frankfurt firm, where he worked in quality control again, testing electronic control equipment.

The alarm clock was ringing again.

Richard Mayer was back in the routine that he needed.

Then last December, on the 7th, the foreman said that he had to go to the personnel office. "I think I know what they mean."

He was told that his job would be taken over by a computer. As he was not a computer, he was to be fitted with what (and when) had taken all his holidays, he could go on to short-time. In contrast, car per hour. On average in a month, he earned between DM1,600 and DM1,800. He now gets DM253.20.

He is doing a roaring trade between unemployment pay. The money was transferred automatically to his bank account every 14 days.

He can manage quite well on the money. His rent is low. He pays DM328 for three rooms. He keeps telephone, electricity and the maintenance of the old Renault car down. He saves only.

"Once I used to go out to eat dinner. But that means 15 marks, so I don't do it any more."

"Friends who know I am unemployed buy me a drink in the pub. But I don't like that too much. It hurts."

"Then I treat myself and have a beer, but that worries me afterwards. So I rather not go to the pub any more. I am those who are unemployed and have children manage, I just don't know."

When Mayer first lost his job, his neighbours did not notice.

He said: "In the Saar unemployed workmates used to come to the house and talk with their work bag and went when work had finished. I used to keep that. Now I do the same thing. I don't shop until four and I don't go to the post box in the morning so that no one will notice. I did that quite automatically."

Quite automatically inactivity slipped into the routine of his life.

But he is not idle. He is trying to learn Spanish from LP records and taking his electronic books for hours on end as not to get out of practice. He keeps to the alcohol he drinks and the television he watches.

He said: "I have noticed that I have done something but it is getting more difficult. Sometimes I have good days. Then there are some days when the evening I ask myself what I've done all day long."

The worst aspect of his situation is the uncertainty. "If I knew that in August I would have a job or if I know I shall never again have a job, it would be easier. I could adapt to that."

Does he blame himself that he is unemployed? "When I think about it, Richard Mayer said, "it was a question of rationalisation and my employment were pleased with my work. But being unemployed is a blot, and you have feeling that you are yourself to blame."

He got up and fetched a letter.

"We regret we have to send you a refusal, but we are certain that with your qualifications you will soon find employment. Yours sincerely."

Richard Mayer laughed wryly. "I read that I got really mad. I could have smashed the place up."

More than once in the course of conversation Richard Mayer said: "I don't know if what I am telling you is important. Do you really believe that anyone is interested?"

Peter Lückemeyer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 1 March 1985)

TRANSPORT

German carmakers cash in on booming US market

US sales dropped 22 per cent in West Germany last December. Many would-be buyers are holding off until they are exactly what is happening with the catalytic-converter saga. The chaos is caused by confusion over what cars will be fitted with what (and when) under the new rules.

Some car makers are likely to be hit by the new rules. In contrast, car makers in the USA are up. Audi, BMW, Mercedes-Benz, Porsche and Volkswagen are doing a roaring trade between unemployment pay. The money was transferred automatically to his bank account every 14 days.

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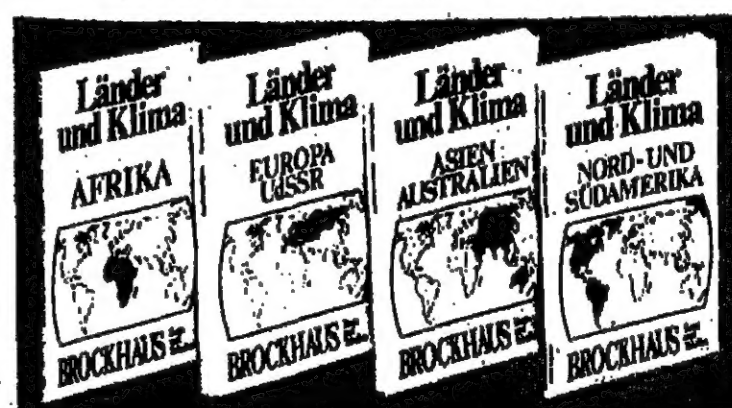
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Peter Lückemeyer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 1 March 1985)

Meteorological stations all over the world



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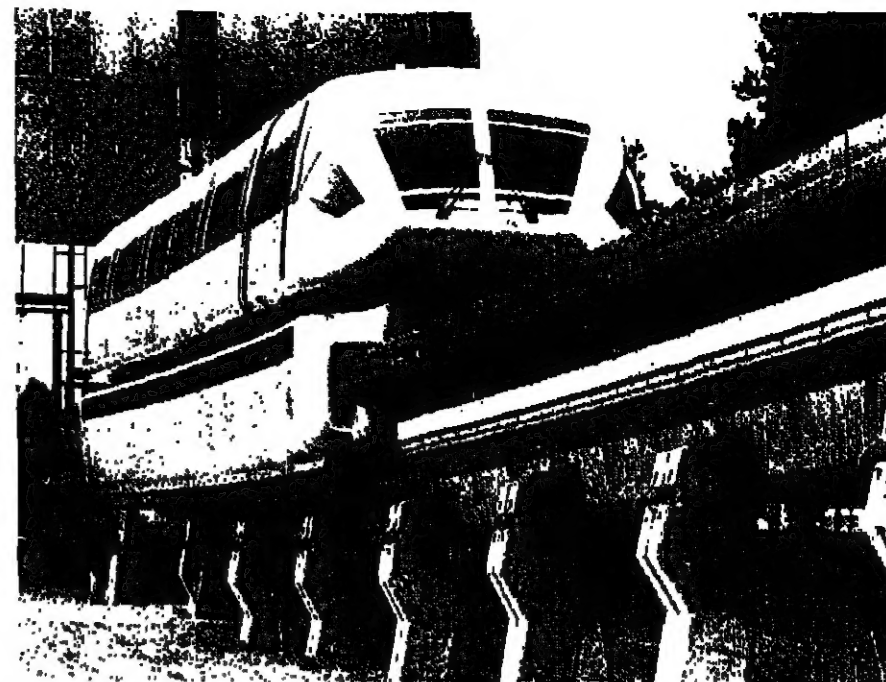
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Ahead of its time, behind its schedule. The Transrapid 06.

(Photo: AP)

Delays plague hovertrain trials

nearly half their planned 1985 output of 50,000 cars in the States.

The emphasis is on distribution, not salesmanship. Porsche cars sell themselves. Last year's engineering strike in Germany was to blame for only 270 more Porsches than in 1983, 20,665, being sold in the United States.

But the company's financial director, Heinz Brantitzki, says the strong dollar has recouped strike losses. A Porsche 911 Carrera coupe costing \$31,950 nets over DM22,000 more than it did a year ago (and last year was profitable too).

German carmakers are reluctant to make a song and dance about dollar windfall profits. "We attach greater importance to operational than to speculative success," says financial director Volker Doppelfeld of BMW in Munich.

But last year was a moneyspinner in both departments for the Bavarian firm. US sales increased by 20 per cent to 70,899. This year the target is 80,000.

As the lowest model, the BMW 318i, sells at \$16,430 the strong dollar is great for both turnover and profits.

Consolidated group turnover, including BMW of North America Inc., was up nearly 18 per cent in 1983, as against only 12 per cent for the parent company.

Daimler-Benz say their US operations are profitable and always have been (even when the dollar was rated at less than DM2).

Profits are partly a matter of prices. The Mercedes 190e 2.3 compact, which

sold a bumper 20,000 units last year in the United States, costs \$23,430 on the eastern seaboard.

The Mercedes 300 SD Turbo, a diesel that sold 13,000 units, costs \$39,500. But Mercedes prices have stayed steady since 1983.

In some cases more extras are provided at no extra cost. Several models have the ABS brake system and airbag as standard fittings.

Mercedes are doing well with stable up-market prices. Despite the seven-week strike in Germany, US sales last year were up 7.5 (as against 11.7) per cent to 79,200 units.

The Stuttgart company plan to keep up the good work and are aiming this year at a US sales target of 85,000 cars.

Felix Spies

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 2 March 1985)

Bonn has allocated a further DM150m toward the cost of completing a 20-mile trial circuit for the Transrapid hovertrain in the Emsland area near the Dutch border.

The Research and Technology Ministry says work on the missing 10km section of track near Lathen, Emsland, is to begin at the end of April and will be scheduled for completion by the end of next year.

The maglev (short for magnetic levitation) hovertrain can then be put through its paces on a 30.5-km circuit.

The likeliest candidates to be awarded the contract are Dyckerhoff & Widmann and Thyssen-Henschel, who built the first sections of overhead track between 1979 and 1983.

The Federal government has so far invested DM730m in the new transport technology, including DM460m for the Emsland track and the Transrapid 06 experimental railcar.

The hovertrain construction consortium, led by Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm of Munich, has been plagued by bad luck. After a series of technical hitches they were unable to meet deadlines.

The most spectacular upset was in last September when the cable of a measuring device burnt out, knocking out the entire rear section of the Transrapid and causing damage, estimated at well over DM6m.

It has yet to be made good. The burnt-out bulk of the lightweight bodywork has been at the Krauss-Maffei works in Munich for repairs for the past four months.

The fire hit Emsland test engineers particularly hard inasmuch as the hovertrain had just begun to show what it was capable of.

The Transrapid 06 had been put through speed trials and zoomed along the track almost noiselessly at over 300 kph.

After the accident trials continued with only half a train. There could no

Continued on page 8

FINANCE

Winning, but too many shots are hitting the crossbar

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

Revival of the free-market economy with the intention of stimulating growth was one of the main aims of the government when it came to power in 1982.

But even Cabinet ministers admit that it hasn't entirely gone to plan. In many sectors, nothing at all has happened. And, instead of fewer hindrances to free-market principles, there are now more.

Subsidies is one example. In principle, everyone is against them — but for others. Everyone has a good case for keeping his own subsidy.

The result is that subsidies have increased, although sometimes they are called something else.

One reason is that demands from a broad section of middle-sized business has suddenly increased its demands for funds.

Another is that the political parties in power have been doing something to keep their voters happy — the farmers, for example.

Two years ago Employment Minister Norbert Blüm threatened that the axe would be put through subvention. But this has not happened.

Another area where the government wanted to take action was privatisation. Companies wholly or partly owned by the state were to be placed in private hands with a broad range of the public holding shares, following the British example.

With the exception of the partial privatisation of the Veba concern there has been no action at all.

Franz Josef Strauss, a member of the supervisory board of Lufthansa, vehemently opposes any reduction of state

Continued from page 2

Egypt was naturally entitled to interlink the main currents of Arab solidarity and to play a leading role in the Arab world.

This leadership role in the Arab world, powerfully played by Egypt under President Nasser, has been in abeyance since the 1977 peace settlement between Egypt and Israel and Egypt's ensuing political isolation.

No other country has proved capable of filling this vacuum and none currently fills the bill as itemised by the Egyptian political scientist.

He says the leading Arab power must combine wealth, a large population, military power and cultural accomplishments.

It is doubtful whether Egypt will resume this role in the foreseeable future, as has been expected since President Mubarak assumed power three and a half years ago.

New and shifting coalitions have since been formed, with the Egyptian political scientist referring to an era of polycentrism in the Arab world.

No one country is able any longer to play singlehandedly a commanding, central role.

Wolfgang Köhler
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 22 March 1985)

holding in the national airline. This has brought to a halt the whole privatisation programme, which in any case has been in dispute.

An objection is that only flourishing companies could be sold off, leaving while those which get subsidised to keep them going would have to remain with the state.

The West German Economic Research Institute warns that wonders could not be expected from privatisation.

The reduction of subventions and the privatisation of public-owned companies are in fact two spectacular areas which are no longer governed by market forces.

There is a watching brief to see that competition considerations do not influence other fields or only inadequately, so that sectors that can be regarded as fully free market sectors are hardly controlled at all.

They must fulfill a couple of pre-conditions that perhaps are not specified.

The price mechanism must, above all, so function that it controls supply and demand. This most important market function is frequently not specified, as infrequently as the equality of means of defence between producer and user.

There are enough examples of this, where these fundamentals harm the market — from health affairs over a wide area of energy, posts, communications and transport to steel, coal and the shipbuilding industry. Other forms of regulation are associated with this.

The government sets the rates of pay for many self-employed. The insurance companies are under fire at the present, because their contractual clauses are contrary to fair competition and the risks are rolled over to the disadvantage of the customer. A further problem is undoubtedly that there is too much concentration in several sectors. The market only functions when there are enough sellers to ensure there is competition. Not only large but also small dealers should be in the market.

This principle is being more and more eroded. There is a wave of concentration under way in the foodstuffs industry — as much among producers as among the trade — that for some time is an advantage to consumers in the form of low prices. Prices are now being threatened by competition. In the long-term, however, there is the danger that the few who

Subsidies

Where financial help and tax concessions land with the amount involved per worker

Railways	37 840 DM
Mining	23 830
Aerospace	14 660
Shipyards	12 710
Farming	10 570
Shipping	10 300
Health	8 930
Post	5 730
Insurance	5 280
Oil processing	4 440
Energy	3 340
Chemicals	2 240

survive among the trade will divide up the market among themselves.

There is, then, much to be done, before the government can celebrate a restoration of the market, and the dismantling of subsidies is certainly one of the most urgent requirements.

It remains to be seen whether Bonn gets round to this with similar strong measures as those applied to the restrictions to social services.

Nevertheless, not all subsidies, even when they distort competition, are from the very outset bad.

Long-lasting unfavourable effects only appear when the assistance lasts too long, when it stops having relevance to the reason it was made in the first place.

Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann, who is well known as the supreme protector of the free market economy, will grip this red hot iron, but within the FDP there is dispute as to how this will happen.

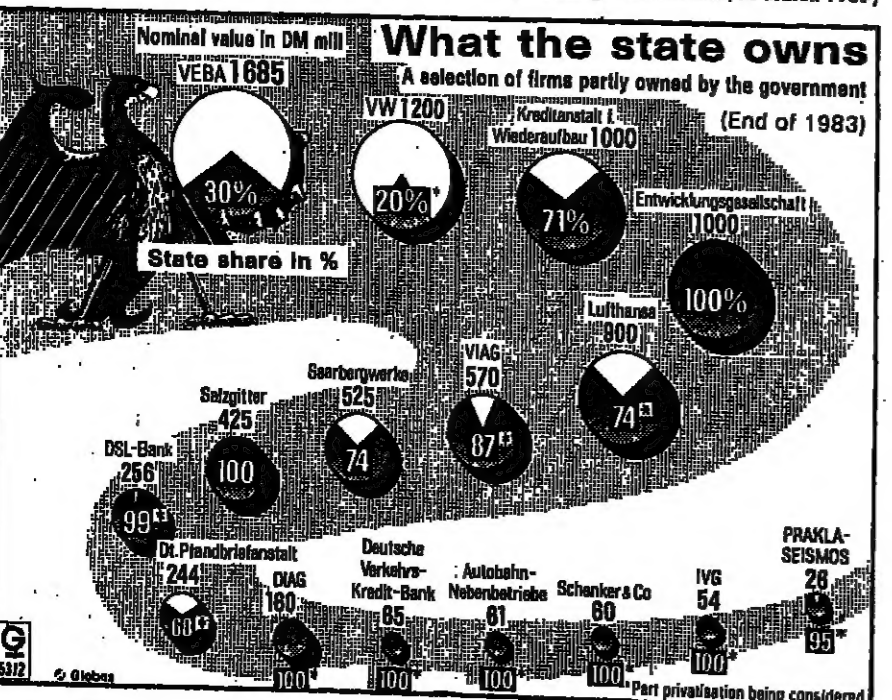
There are those who take the view subsidy reduction possibilities should be taken item by item. Others propose the linear cutback of all subventions to a determined level.

It is extremely important that the multitude of sectors where there is obviously a lack of competition should succeed and the reasons for the lack of a market should be found so as to be able to apply the competition principle as far as possible.

The West German government is aware of this problem in part. Nevertheless it is apparently not quite sure whether it can draw conclusions from this should the competition legislation be altered in this legislative period.

This is essential, as the Monopolies Commission once said, to impose a halt to the degeneration of common practice as regards competition.

Hans Georg Linder
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 20 March 1985)



Demands placed on America 'unrealistic'

The latest set of demands some Europeans have given the Americans is astonishing.

It demands cuts in the USA interest rates, budget deficit and new foreign debt.

First, these demands are just the opposite of what the Europeans want. Before the Bonn economic summit in 1978.

Second, as a set of demands it is even workable. The Americans could not act on them even if they wanted to.

How can Europeans expect them to abandon their new orientation and their pride and their dynamism?

So, what should the Americans do according to the Europeans?

Reduce the budget deficit by cutting expenditure or increasing tax.

Europeans think that a tax increase in the USA would help solve the economic problems here. But they might be wrong.

The Europeans, not the Americans, should think about taxation.

Tax and various social security contributions have increased massively. The tax ratio in comparison to the national product has remained static.

Also, because of the high tax, growth has been put under pressure.

When Europeans say American debt should be cut through reduced expenditure, two factors should be considered:

• They are looking at American debt but not their own.

• Biting criticism of defence expenditure in the USA could result in the Americans saying that the military protection of western Europe would be conditional on substantial European contributions.

Europeans, and particularly the West Germans, should consider the psychological attitude.

How might the USA expect to react to a nation that: first, rides roughshod over it; second, attaches to it all the tributes of international wickedness; third, calls upon it to spring to its defence?

There is an ever-growing political group that does this.

It is dangerous to demand that the Americans reduce interest rates in order to bring down the dollar rate and halting the flow of capital into the USA.

This could lead to concrete demands that the American Reserve Bank be more expansive.

Is the dollar standard in danger, with it the dominance of the monetary policy introduced in 1979 that was aimed at stability, and with it the consequences on the inflation front over the last five years?

Are we marching towards a soft currency standard, an ECU standard? It has not happened yet.

It seems that it cannot be excluded that at the next Bonn summit in May, instead of disseminating the American message world-wide, they will hand out a dose of inflation all because no one believed that individual economies were strong enough to make the tough adjustments needed.

Norbert Walter
(Welt am Sonntag, Bonn, 17 March 1985)

Professor Walter is the head of the Institute for the World Economy.

THE ENVIRONMENT

The elephant fish has just the nose for polluted water

Köln Stadt-Anzeiger

The elephant fish with its distinctive proboscis is more at home in the waters of African inland waters, especially the Nile. But it may soon be at home in Germany too, and doing important environmental work (did it but not yet).

It is very responsive to polluted water, says Professor Bode of Coburg.

The fish responds much faster to water pollution and its responses are much more readily apparent than any alternative method of measurement and analysis.

Even electronic measuring equipment can only register substances it is designed to identify. There is no way they can keep track of unexpected chemical encounters, as it were.

Yet the possibilities of water pollution are virtually unlimited. Polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons, aromatic amines, nitro compounds and pesticide residue can occur in tapwater all over the world.

Hormones, antibiotics, halogenised hydrocarbons and heavy metals such as mercury, arsenic, cadmium, lead and copper can be equally dangerous.

The number of chemicals that are an environmental hazard is steadily increasing. In 1977 there were over four million chemical substances registered in the United States, and several hundred a year are released into the environment for the first time.

They also turn up in tapwater, which is increasingly drawn from polluted surface waters.

Despite constantly improved and newly-devised analysis techniques it is not yet possible to identify all toxins in water. In any case, biological systems

can be used to check water quality just as canaries used to check atmospheric pollution down the mine.

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There's something fishy going on here!

(Photo: Bode)

The latest water test consists of two electrode plates made of steel to register the fish's electric impulses, which are amplified and fed to switchgear for evaluation.

The technique was first used over four years ago by Göppingen waterworks in Baden-Württemberg. Experiments in Coburg have shown at what levels the fish reacts to toxins.

A healthy elephant fish sends out 400 to 800 impulses a minute, but from one second to the next it can increase or decrease its frequency by 300 impulses.

The alarm is sounded the moment the fish reduces its electrical activity below a certain level for longer than two minutes.

The elephant fish has been shown to respond to toxin counts well below the human danger level. It is particularly responsive to toxins and heavy metals such as lead, cadmium, chromium, arsenic, cyanide, sulphates, nitrates and mercury.

It is quick to react to chlorinated hydrocarbons too, sounding the alarm when trichlorethylene, a particularly dangerous poison, occurs in a concentration of 1:10,000.

All the elephant fish can do is sound the alarm. Chemical analysis is needed to identify the toxin. But project scientists are delighted with the speed and reliability of their new "colleague."

Elephant fish, and the equipment that comes with them, are also inexpensive pollution monitors. So they may well be standard waterworks equipment soon.

Wilhelm Irsh

(Köln Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 15 March 1985)

Continued from page 7

longer be any question of technically-minded tourists being taken on high-speed test runs for publicity purposes.

Bonn Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber has been annoyed at the constant delays in meeting deadlines for this prestige project.

He quietly stripped the consortium, consisting of MBB, Siemens, Thyssen-Henschel, AEG, BBC, Krauss-Maffei and Dyckerhoff & Widmann, of responsibility for further Transrapid trials.

At the end of last year responsibility (and the track and rolling stock) was handed over to a company in which Lufthansa, the Bundesbahn and the Federal government's industrial holdings group hold equal shares.

The unpublished hand-over was unusual inasmuch as it had been agreed that the hand-over was not to take

place until the entire system was operational.

That wasn't the case in the New Year and the consortium readily admits it has failed to deliver the goods on time. "We didn't quite complete our task," says Hans Georg Raschbichler of Thyssen-Henschel.

The new company has been entrusted with carrying out hovertrain trials in realistic operational conditions. Speed (target: 400 kph) is not the sole objective. Reliability and economy are no less important.

The Emisland trials are likely to take a decade. They won't get truly under way until this summer because Krauss-Maffei are not to finish repairs to the burnt-out railcar until May.

It will take at least a further two months to fit the car out with its full complement of machinery and equipment.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 March 1985)

■ MUSIC

More Bach than bite: story of a half-finished chord

This year sees the 300th birth anniversaries of three outstanding Baroque musicians. Handel's was last month, Scarlatti's in October. This month, on 21 March, it is the turn of Johann Sebastian Bach, arguably the greatest composer of them all. This article is by Helmut Rilling, director of the International Bach Academy. Professor Rilling has recorded all 194 Bach cantatas on 100 gramophone records for which he has just been awarded the Grand Prix du Disque in Paris. He here deals with Bach as a church musician and with how the composer dealt with the basic Christian tenets.

We are naturally concerned to a special extent with the value and special significance of Johann Sebastian Bach in this, the 300th anniversary year of his birth.

One overriding answer to this question is provided by the orderly quality of his music, a characteristic even the untrained ear can readily appreciate.

Anyone who listens to Bach's music will be struck by the clarity of its structural patterns. Yet this orderly quality is never limiting or restrictive; it is a mainstay of his creative imagination.

A second answer to the question of Bach's importance is the fact that he, more than any other composer, incorporated and summarised in his music the styles of music past and contemporary.

A third would be that his work has exercised a substantial influence on music written since.

In the subsequent history of music, up to and including the present, there can have been no major composer or musician who has been able to ignore him.

A special aspect of Bach's importance would seem to me to be the subject of his life's work: church music and Christian beliefs.

For many people today the church and its services have forfeited the keen interest shown in them by past generations. But that need not necessarily be equated with a fundamental lack of interest in the Christian message of faith, hope and charity.

Maybe Bach's music provides a level of preoccupation with these ideas that is sufficiently non-committal not to require a profession of faith.

Yet Bach's personal preoccupation with these basic Christian tenets is certainly the starting-point of an interest that sought ideas and guidance.

From his earliest years of musical activity Bach concentrated on the organ chorale.

He was able to follow in the footsteps of Dutch master Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, 1562-1621, and his pupils, a tradition leading up to and including Samuel Scheidt, 1587-1654, and Dietrich Buxtehude, 1637-1707.

The traditional forms that took shape in this canon were extremely varied, and Bach took them over without fundamentally adding to them.

But in one respect he went far beyond his predecessors. The sense and emotion in the lyrics that accompanied the chorale melodies exerted a decisive influence on the form his chorales took.

The 45 movements in his *Orgelbüch-*

lein, composed in Weimar, follow the course of the ecclesiastical year.

He invariably succeeded not only in illustrating the meaning of his chorale texts but also in interpreting their meaning.

His *O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde groß* is solemn and quiet in its meditation on the Passion, his *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt* is dogmatic in its obduracy and his *Herr Gott, nun schleuß den Himmel auf* so vividly expresses Simon's desire to go to Heaven.

Bach always succeeds in giving vocal and musical expression to the inexpressible.

His oratorios were almost invariably written to expand music for divine service beyond the framework of the customary cantata for special high days and holy days.

His passions, first performed on Good Friday 1724 and 1727, and his oratorios composed for Easter, Ascension and Christmas all set the gospel text to music as the starting-point for reflections designed to emphasise the special significance of the day.

The comprehensive way in which Bach accomplishes this task is particularly apparent nowadays when his oratorios are performed both separately from church and divine service and, increasingly, at a time of the year other than those for which they were intended.

Each oratorio has distinctive and unmistakable features. His dramatic *St John's Passion* points theologically beyond Good Friday to Easter and differs totally in objective from his *St Matthew's Passion* with its incomparable contemplation of the stations of the Cross and lamentation at the death of Christ.

Each of the other three oratorios is preceded by secular cantatas that are

STUTTGARTER
NACHRICHTEN

blended into a new, ecclesiastical context.

The only oratorio that wasn't written to be performed or supervised by the composer himself was his *B flat Mass*. He presented the *Kyrie* and the *Gloria* to the Saxon court in Dresden in 1733 and finished the remainder in his final years.

Many of the later movements were adapted from earlier cantatas, whereas others were newly composed. Bach himself probably never heard the mass performed in full.

In the variety of forms it uses and the profound interpretation of the text of the Mass it appears to be a summary and culmination of his life's work.

There can hardly be a work to compare with it in the history of music for its comprehensive and elementary portrayal of Christian belief and the Christian church.

Writing and performing oratorios was not Bach's bread and butter, but his everyday work definitely included writing cantatas for performance in church on Sundays.

That was part of his job from his early years in Mühlhausen, Thuringia, until his late period in Leipzig. But his most

productive cantata period was his early years in Leipzig from 1723 to 1727.

During this period he performed a cantata of his own every Sunday except on the Sundays before Christmas and Easter when no music was played. He was able to use work written earlier but most of the cantatas he composed during these years were newly-written and of extremely high quality. Bach must have written about 300 cantatas in his career; 200 have survived. This still large number may be one reason why Bach- and music-lovers today feel discouraged from looking into such a vast oeuvre.

Another reason why his cantatas remain virtually unknown is that their lyrics nowadays often appear longwinded, banal and risible even.

What they had to say in theological terms in many cases is nowadays seen as threadbare and irrelevant. But they certainly seized Bach's imagination. Their choice of words triggers his motifs and themes, their thoughts prompt major feats of musical architecture.

As a part of divine service the cantatas are naturally related to the topics of the Sundays and holy days for which they were written.

Cantatas written for Christmas, Easter, Whitsun and minor holy days are particularly explicit in where they belong.

Within the larger group of cantatas written for ordinary Sundays in the church year, with their references to readings and gospel texts, Bach's interest in specific topics is clearly apparent.

One such topic is the problem of belief and doubt. Unlike church music composed before his time, by Heinrich Schütz for instance, Bach's views are not inevitably affirmative.

In his Cantata No. 109, *Ich glaube, lieber Herr* the portrayal of doubt and disbelief in the tenor recitative and aria is so expressive that the counterpoint in the following movements has great difficulty in holding its own.

A second sector on which Bach particularly concentrates is man's personal relationship with God.

Starting with the idea outlined in the Song of Songs Jesus is viewed as the bridegroom of the soul.

Bach devotes a number of duet cantatas to the dialogue between them, with the part of the soul sung by the soprano and that of Christ, in keeping with church music tradition, by the bass.

The third major topic that permeates Bach's cantatas like no other is the attempt to come to terms with the phenomenon of mortality and death.

The need to do so in everyday life was doubtless more immediate in his day than in our own; of Bach's 20 children 11 died during the composer's lifetime.

In a striking number of cantatas death and dying are the main issues. And even



Tricked by his children... Bach.

(Photo: Interpress)

in works on entirely different issues: individual sentences suddenly deal with the subject.

Bach outlines two clear views, one being a grim and unmitigated statement of the finite nature of human existence.

No attempt is made to build up the slightest consolation. This view is more expressly outlined in his Cantata No. 25 *Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig*.

His other viewpoint is that Christ's resurrection is a guarantee of our own, and in keeping with the soul as bridegroom mysticism a heartfelt desire for death is expressed.

The death knell is tolled in many of Bach's cantatas, rendered by the cello of the string instruments and notably in the funeral ode BWV 106.

Many of his films show his knowledge of architecture and painting. His phantasy creations with space are one of the features of his earlier work — the immense city-scape of *Metropolis* comes instantly to mind and the architecture of *Nibelungen*.

All these constructions have a prison-like quality.

One of the most gripping scenes in Egon Günther's three-part 1/4-hour television film, *Morenga*, lasts just seconds.

Jakobus, a smart little fellow of the Nama tribe of the Hottentots, has stolen and offering approaches to their salvation.

Without warning, he shoots the German-born farmer, Lüdemann, before he can draw his pistol.

Jakobus doesn't see any injustice in his He has some idea that he has on his side the right of a persecuted person.

The Prussian persecutors see things differently. Born along with elation for the Fatherland they invade what was late to be "German South-West Africa" under Luderitz and conduct themselves as conquerors.

Soon after Namaland was declared a German protectorate in 1884 they began to take the land from the indigenous people, the water wells and eventually curiously an unfinished chord.

The Hereros were particularly badly off. At the end of a murderous campaign against the tribe, led by General von Trotha in the autumn of 1904, only 22,000 were left of 100,000 tribesmen. All the others died of hunger and after they were encircled by the Germans in the Omaheke desert.

In the same year, 1904, the Nama began to defend themselves and one of their most valiant leaders was the bass.

One day Philipp Emanuel (who was to play the story) decided to play

Continued on page 16

■ THE CINEMA

New lease of life for the late Fritz Lang

Fritz Lang's film *Metropolis*, made in 1926, is again being shown in cinemas. It is a work of art that still has significance today. Who was Fritz Lang?

like quality, where people are forced to be inevitably at the mercy of a pre-arranged destiny.

In his very first film of 1921, *Der müde Tod* (Tired death), that broke away from serial filming, there were these monumental walls and rooms of glaring light.

Before he made films Fritz Lang wrote film scripts for the Berlin Decla film company. Until he left Germany in 1933 his wife Theo von Harbou wrote the scripts for his films. She used sources from German Romanticism while the settings and acting displayed the influence of expressionism upon him.

The bombast and kitsch of these films was later ascribed to Theo von Harbou, but the Master himself never disclaimed his share in this.

In America he was a little sceptical about *Metropolis*, regarded by many to be his masterpiece.

He said: "Theo von Harbou was responsible for the main theme, but I am responsible for at least fifty per cent, because I made the film."

He continued: "I was not so politically aware then as I am now. It is impossible to make a socially aware film, in which one says the medium between the hand and the mind is the heart — in my view that's a fairytale. But I'm interested in machines..."

When the Nazis took over Theo went along with them. Fritz Lang, whose second *Mabuse* film (*Das Testament des Dr Mabuse*) had already been withdrawn from cinemas, emigrated to France and then America.

The mysterious Dr Mabuse was a madman. On his behalf the worst kind

of criminals had overrun the country. Goebbels who had been appointed protector and censor of German films, feared that undesired parallels would be drawn, when he had the film withdrawn.

Fritz Lang later said: "From the *Mabuses* come the Heydrichs and the Himmlers."

He made *Liliom* in Paris after the play of the same name by Ferenc Molnar with Charles Boyer in the title role.

An attempt to get Lang's films accepted again by the powers that were in his native country failed although they had offered him "the leadership of German films".

In Hollywood Fritz Lang met an old friend from the beginning of the 1930s — the poet Bertolt Brecht. They had together stormed through the studios of Neubabelsberg, along Friedrichstrasse and the Kurfürstendamm, Lang dressed in leather gaiters and a check lumberjack's coat, Brecht in a worn-out leather jacket.

Lang, along with Adorno, the Mann brothers, the composer Arnold Schönberg and many other emigrants went through the Hollywood dream factory in the hope the much-abused could be helped out with a job.

The continuation of the friendship between Lang and Brecht in Hollywood was not always plain sailing.

Marxist Brecht breathed heavily when Fritz Lang spoke of destiny, when he saw social relationships, when he tried to make clear to thick film-makers that the logic of the cinema was something different to that of the theatre and that he could not go along with the cliché that the masses were standing by ready for revolution.



Fritz Lang... worked with Brecht.

(Photo: Interpress)

Nevertheless the two got together and wrote the script for Lang's seventh film shot in America, *Hangmen also Die* — after *Fury*, *You only Live Once*, *You and Me*, *The Return of Frank James*, *Western Union* and *Manhunt*.

In 1945 Lang set up Diana Productions, that only produced two films, however. Many projects never got off the ground, a Billy-the-Kid film, a golem film and an adaptation of Carl Zuckmayer's *The Devil's General*.

In 1956 Fritz Lang visited Germany for the first time since his emigration. Here in West Germany he shot his last films, re-makes of his Indian films *Der Tiger von Eschnapur* and *Das indische Grabmal* which Joe May had long ago denied him, and another *Mabuse* film, *Die tausend Augen des Dr Mabuse* (Dr Mabuse' Thousand Eyes).

In 1963 he played a leading role in Jean-Luc Godard's film *Le mépris*. Two years later he was created "Officier d'art et des lettres".

He died on 2 August 1979 in Los Angeles.

Mathes Rehder

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 16 March 1985)

■ TELEVISION

A little Hottentot's High Noon makes a colonial point



(Photo: WDR)

tard Jakob Morenga. With him the black African opposition finally acquired self-confidence, which, if it did not gain for them international recognition, at least the esteem in which they were later held, particularly by democrats.

In all probability the Prussian "protecting troops" could not completely deprive Morenga of intelligence and authority.

This film converts this authority into action in two ways. In one way the film draws a picture of the Nama leader as a journeyman carpenter (with black hat, black waistcoat and black trousers, played by Ken Gampu, a black South African). Then the camera honours him as a kind of "King Kong", broad shouldered, good-natured and dominated over.

He lets a German take a bullet out of his backside without any anaesthetisation.

There are many others in the film. There are the Lüdemanns who are used to silence when at a meal and after the meal they play the piano.

There is then Jakobus who is the errand-boy between the fronts, and the Prussian commandant, always drunk, who likes to have his feet in a bath-tub and who devotes his leisure time preferably to a certain Hottentot girl. Finally there are any number of white soldiers.

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■ EDUCATION

Bleak career outlook for university graduates

RHEINISCHER MERKUR
Düsseldorf

Only one university graduate in three is likely to find a job suiting his or her qualifications over the next 15 years, says a still-to-be-issued government report.

Last year, the universities turned out 130,000 graduates; 9,500 went straight on to the dole.

This figure is not as bad as it has been over the past few years, but it doesn't tell the whole truth.

Most unemployed university leavers are not entitled to unemployment benefit so many don't even bother to apply for it.

Others stay on at university. The longer they wait, the better it definitely won't be. A storm is brewing.

The report, commissioned by the joint educational planning commission of the Bonn and Land governments, is still confidential, but its message is bleak.

Until a few years ago graduates could generally pick and choose and virtually set up their own job market. Political scientists and psychologists did so no less successfully than teachers.

Then, when the economy began to falter, things changed. Graduates with specialist qualifications were the last to be sacked, almost invariably weathering the minor vicissitudes of the economic cycle.

Now a third rule of thumb seems to be coming into its own. It is that when the economy starts to pick up few groups are hired as reluctantly as graduates.

The position is particularly problematic in the public service. In 1982 just over 60 per cent of graduates were in public service. Between 1978 and 1982 the proportion of graduates on civil service and local government payrolls increased from 20.7 to 21.9 per cent.

If college (as opposed to university) graduates are disregarded, the stampede to find a safe government job is even more striking.

Roughly two university graduates in three have sought and found public service employment.

Continued from page 11

including a one-time anarchist (the old soldier Wenstrup played by Edwin Nöel) and a pacifist (his mate Gottschalk played by Jacques Breuer).

In the famine-stricken south of Prussian Africa the latter is worried about "moral innocence". As a consequence the spot-light is cast upon him as one of the first conscientious objectors.

As he cannot bear the misery of occupation he deserts from the troop and goes about as a vagabond, returning finally to his homeland. That is the end of the film after exactly two hundred and fifty-five minutes and nine seconds.

The story is taken from the 1978 novel by Uwe Timm published by Autoren Edition entitled *Morenga*. The film has two aspects, fantasy and anti-Wilhelmine irony.

Timm has since said that the book cannot be regarded, must not be re-

garded, as an introduction to the current situation between Grootfontein and the Orange River in dependent Namibia.

Director Egon Günther has been able to save only a little of the wit and fantasy. The whole is overlaid by marginal events, boozing and whoring, by the continuous heat and the military problems of reserves, by Wenstrup's fads and Gottschalk's scruples, as well as droll gun fighting.

There is a lot of shooting in this film, on foot and from horseback, from machine guns (from Namibia) from pistols (from Ingolstadt) and even with a small canon (from the Munich Army Museum).

Morenga's Hottentots have all the secret ways and devices of guerrillas, just like the resistance in Afghanistan today.

Günther had these in mind, among others, when he took up the Timm text.

reference to the construction industry being in the doldrums. Limits to growth are in sight before growth has even begun to any great extent.

The Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry has drawn the most drastic inference from these findings. It advises engineers to aim at dual qualifications, meaning an apprenticeship as well as a degree. Then they might hope to find a skilled job in a craft trade.

The Labour Ministry is broadly critical of universities for producing graduates with an educational shortfall that makes them hard to place in the labour market.

There has certainly been a rapid increase in the number of graduates who have decided to learn something else as well.

In 1983 there were nearly twice as many second-time learners as in 1980. Their supplementary courses were in subjects ranging from computers to languages.

There can be no doubt whatever that the ball is now in the universities' court.

The reform of university studies regularly embarked on and almost as regularly abandoned might not create new jobs but it could help to dispel misgivings in small and medium-sized firms about hiring graduates.

In America and Japan universities have long monitored how graduates get on. Contacts with potential employers are arranged at an early stage — with striking success. In Germany not even a start has been made for the most part.

The report is critical of universities for not paying the working world due attention. Business studies departments are said to concentrate too exclusively on training students for jobs with large companies.

There is general criticism of universities for concentrating on salary-earning jobs. Only a handful of universities, such as Bonn and Cologne, provide early information about the prospects of setting up in business on one's own.

That is unquestionably a serious shortcoming. Only one self-employed person in 11 is a graduate at present. No-one can doubt for a moment that an agonising reappraisal is called for here.

But the report overshoots the mark in ringing the praises of the "new self-employed." Mention is made, for instance, of refugees for battered wives.

The Labour Ministry is enthusiastic about wholefood stores and cycle workshops. The Economic Affairs Ministry curiously notes that "this section is definitely overrated."

Paul F. Reitze
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,
Bonn, 9 March 1985)

Chance to give economics the second degree

Graduates who would like to take a second degree in economics can apply to take part in a new project at Kiel University's Institute of International Economic Affairs.

Unlike private enterprise ventures such as Witten-Herdecke University of the Ruhr or the Business Studies College in Koblenz, the Kiel course is for graduates only.

It is a 10-month course in international economic relations. The first intake, 23 postgraduate students, enrolled last autumn.

The Kiel project differs from previous ventures in a further respect. They are starting from scratch, whereas Kiel has its infrastructure at the ready.

It includes lecture theatres and a library, not to mention close ties with leading universities in other countries.

So Kiel too can lay claim to have started something new, says project director Harmen Lehment.

It could well set an example for others to follow, which is why it has been funded by German industry and the Volkswagen Foundation.

No use is being made of extra public funds. What is more, classes are conducted entirely in English, partly of course because English is very much the lingua franca of interconomics.

But another reason for this decision was that it was hoped to ensure international enrolment. Experience shows, Lehment says, that the German market is still too small for the project.

For the initial course only 16 graduates applied from the Federal Republic of Germany, as against 48 from other countries.

The relatively long time German graduates spent at university was, he felt, a contributory factor. So was their flexibility of German graduates, on the one hand, and institutions when it came to further training.

Courses in English have the advantage that US lecturers can be invited while students benefit from the insight into, then, are the differences in personality traits between those who do and those who don't?

Research on this aspect of the phenomenon cannot even be said to have reached the stage at which there might be speculation having some facts.

In the long term the project is intended to be self-supporting, paying its way from course fees. Prospects would improve dramatically if both graduates and potential employers were to be interested.

Firms and institutions would, it was hoped, consider seconding staff on courses, which was why it had been decided to limit the course to a single year.

Lengthier courses costing more would make it increasingly difficult to interest potential students, regardless of whether they had to pay their own way or were backed by grants.

Many of the first year's intake benefited from grants. Some are backed by firms or institutions they work for, few are paying their own way.

The first intake consists of 23 students from 13 countries. The emphasis is on macroeconomics in open economies, the international monetary system and international financial markets.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 March 1985)

■ MEDICINE

A lot of inflated ideas about hypnotism

RHEINISCHE POST

Many claims and beliefs about hypnosis are greatly exaggerated, says a Konstanz University psychologist.

Under hypnosis people are well aware of what they are doing. They are not, as generally imagined, they are unlikely to develop superhuman powers. The hypnotist can't order them to do anything against their will.

Hypnosis consists of concentrating on a single sector and largely ignoring other perceived stimuli, says Dr Wolfgang von Konstanz University department of psychology and sociology.

Experiments he has conducted show, for instance, that memory cannot be improved under hypnosis, whereas individual perception of the outside world can be changed.

Hypnosis is nothing new, although Dr Bongartz said research on the phenomenon was strictly limited and had not reached headway.

The basic features were discovered over 200 years ago, but what really intrigued him and how it can be used to treat the sick are riddles that have not yet been fully solved.

Scientists are agreed, however, that hypnosis cannot be equated with a state of sleep.

Electric currents in the brain of a hypnotised person can be clearly distinguished from those of someone who is asleep and have more in common with those of someone in a waking state.

Under hypnosis is clearly interlinked with individual ability to fall into a trance, which is a talent people either have or haven't; it can't be learnt, or so scientists claim.

That would seem to explain why only a few people respond at all to hypnosis. But, then, are the differences in personality traits between those who do and those who don't?

Research on this aspect of the phenomenon cannot even be said to have reached the stage at which there might be speculation having some facts.

Dr Bongartz is inclined to roughly equate hypnosis with relaxation or meditation. He sees it as a bid by the individual to concentrate on certain things to the exclusion of all others.

It might arguably be compared with the techniques by which the body and the mind seek protection from the threat of a demand that is too much for them by simply ignoring certain circumstances.

Under hypnosis people can also come to terms with evident contradictions, as the following comparison indicates.

When people are told under hypnosis that there is no furniture in a room they will walk very gingerly round where a table might stand.

People who aren't hypnotised will stumble against the table, not because they can't see it but because they imagine that is expected of them.

It may prove possible to put these characteristics to use, although as yet findings are based on only a handful of experiments.

One spectacular case is that of a woman who was abducted and raped. Under hypnosis she was able to recall details that led to the arrest of her kidnappers.

In addition to such individual instances hypnosis can evidently be put to good use in medicine as a painkiller.

An American experiment involving 49 children and juveniles has shown that hypnosis can be used in painful treatment of the backbone and bone marrow: both to combat fear of treatment and to reduce perceived pain.

Hypnosis is occasionally used at German hospitals. In Bochum, for instance, it is used to persuade a partially paralysed patient to leave his wheelchair after an operation even though getting up may cause him pain.

Hypnosis is put to both medical and other use in behaviour therapy, being used to get patients to recall their early childhood and forgotten experiences of bygone years.

People cannot be persuaded to depart from their fundamental ethical principles under hypnosis, it seems fairly safe to say (although the findings are, as so often in this context, only tentative).

All that can be expected is that the authority of the hypnotist and the experimental situation will possibly lead to unexpected behaviour.

One such case Dr Bongartz cites is that of people being told under hypnosis they were colour-blind. Tests promptly indicated that they were colour-blind.

But un hypnotised people who were simply asked in ordinary conversation to behave as though they were colour-blind had exactly the same test results.

Dieter Schwab

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 16 March 1985)

Still no clear answers on causes of homosexuality

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

University professors," Professor Friedmund Neumann of Berlin told the Göttingen congress of the German Endocrinological Association, "have much larger heads than officers..."

"If your head is at least 53cm in circumference you may become a university don, but grown men with heads less than 52cm in circumference cannot be expected to produce much in the way of intellectual accomplishment.

"Below 50.5cm they will not even boast normal intelligence. As for the size of head of women of genius, we need hardly ask; there are none."

These weren't his own views, needless to say. Professor Neumann is one of the leading hormone research scientists in the Federal Republic of Germany and works for Schering, the Berlin drug company.

He was quoting from turn-of-the-century scientific publications on "sexual dimorphism," or physiological and hormone differences between the sexes and their effect on sexual behaviour.

To this day there have been repeated endocrinological attempts to account for homosexuality in terms of glands.

Professor Neumann was strongly opposed to what he called uncritical assumptions that findings of experiments with laboratory animals applied to man, especially in respect of sexual imprint and behaviour patterns.

Research scientists have carried out experiments of this kind since the 1930s on guinea pigs and hamsters, rats and mice, dogs, sheep and monkeys.

They have uniformly shown that sexual behaviour can be influenced by interfering with the sex centre in the brain before birth.

A well-known East Berlin endocrinologist, Professor Günter Dörner, has carried out similar work since the 1960s. He is an acknowledged authority but his findings are extremely controversial.

Sex is determined the moment the ovum is fertilised, but subsequent sexual activity is largely determined by hormones, regardless of gender and proclivities.

The hormones affect the male and female sex centres in the hypothalamus, a part of the brain. While these sex centres are still developing, proclivities can be influenced in animals by the use of hormones.

Professor Dörner has, for instance, castrated male rats that showed homosexual behaviour as adults when they were given androgens, or male hormones.

The theory is that a lack of androgen at the crucial ante-natal stage of sex centre development can lead to male homosexuality.

A shortage of androgen at this stage is said to lead either to bisexuality or to a reduced sex drive, while an overdose of male sex hormones can lead to female homosexuality.

Many behavioural research scientists have come to accept that the findings of such experiments may be applied to man. Professor Neumann attributes this to disappointment.

Behavioural research scientists have largely failed in their attempts to change sexual orientation so, he argues, they have accepted the endocrinological theory instead.

Whether there is anything at all to be gained from attempts to change the sexual orientation of homosexuals is, of course, another matter entirely.

Vague connections that appear to arise when male homosexuals' case histories are reviewed must be called into question on methodical grounds, Professor Neumann says.

They include the tentative view that stress during pregnancy may trigger homosexuality among male progeny.

Practical experiments are ruled out on ethical grounds. Pregnant mothers can hardly be given hormone treatment to see whether their babies will turn out to be homosexual or whatever.

Above all, he argued in Göttingen, parallels between the sexual behaviour of mice and men were impermissible.

The causes of sexual imprint, inasmuch as they are of scientific interest, are definitely extremely complex among humans and probably include both biological and social factors.

Professor Neumann is afraid that hormone theories may continue to gain support for as long as sexology fails to come up with more promising explanations.

Justin Westhoff

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin 9 March 1985)

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FRONTIERS

Bible 'doesn't say ministers must not be homosexual'

The Bible does not say that a person cannot be a minister merely because he or she is homosexual, says a Göttingen theologian.

Manfred Josuttis, Professor of Theology, told a meeting of the Tutzing Evangelical Academy in Nuremberg that homosexuals were no longer treated as criminals.

But the Evangelical Church had given itself away in a pamphlet it had produced entitled: *Gedanken und Maßnahmen zum Dienst von Homophilen in der Kirche* (Ideas and Steps towards including Homosexuals as Church Officers).

This was a "terribly well-meant" title, but it shocked him deeply. It was "extremely inhuman" and showed that discrimination continued.

In West Germany, homosexual acts among consenting males have been legal since 1974 (they have always been for women).

However, they still feel oppressed and forced out of the mainstream of society.

They also feel increasingly shut out of the churches, both Evangelical and Catholic. This applies not only to those who aspire to church office, but also those who are simply believing Christians.

This is despite the fact that the churches both declare that homosexuals are people like anyone else.

Representatives of the Evangelical work group on homosexuality agree with Professor Josuttis. They refer to an

Mirror, mirror on the wall — yes, that's me!

Men are not as vain as women, according to two surveys. They don't place as high a regard on personal appearance.

Dr Dieter Bongers and a team from Berlin's Technical University asked groups of men and women what they thought of their own bodies.

The women immediately reacted by discussing what they thought they looked like. The men did not discuss appearance at all.

An American psychologist, Cynthia Rand, asked her test persons to rate their own appearance on a scale up to nine.

Afterwards, this self assessment was compared to the opinion of a judging panel armed with photographs of the guinea pigs.

The women knew accurately what they looked like. In almost every case, their opinion tallied with the panel's.

But the men didn't have the foggiest notion about their own attractions. Their ideas clashed hopelessly with the panel's.

Bongers' study revealed that women knew no limits when asked about their physical ideal. They wanted all their weak points ironed out so their body would be attractive to the opposite sex.

Specifically, they wanted their bottom, bust and legs in tip-top shape.

But the men were worried about the body's capacity to function, not its appearance. The main thing was that it was capable of sexual performance.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 13 March 1985)

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

example of persecution in Hanover last year when two ministers were sent on extended leave after their homosexuality became known.

The work group says this attitude contradicts the Christian message of brotherly love because Jesus went to the Cross for homosexuals just as much as for anyone else.

Homosexuality, says the group, is neither a sin nor an illness. It is merely an expression of human sexuality.

A leaflet distributed at the conference was unequivocal at supporting this view.

It said that the church should change what it described as its simplistic and incomplete utterances on the subject.

Prejudice and ignorance should be ended through dissemination of more information.

It urged solidarity with homosexuality and the abolition of all laws dealing specifically with homosexuality.

It was no wonder that Adolf Sperl, a member of the Bavarian church synod,

didn't have an easy time of it at the meeting. He said, as he prepared to deliver his report, that he didn't expect an armchair ride: "I'm sure that I won't be able to satisfy everyone."

Sperl said that even with an open-minded attitude, it would be a long time before homosexuals were accepted in the church as valued members and workers and not just as statistics.

He said that despite the liberal attitude of the church of Luther, marriage for homosexuals was a long way off.

It became clear at the meeting that it was not only the church that had problems with the issue of homosexuality. Josuttis said the church only reflected the prejudices and worries of society. There was clearly concern on all sides.

Pastor Bernhard Wolf, an academy official, said there was a great fear of urges and feelings. Feelings could "extend beyond us and confuse us and make us unsure."

Forms of homosexual sub-cultures such as the male prostitute scene were a step further into this confusion.

Professor Helmut Kentler, who teaches in Hanover and admits himself to being homosexual, demands from both sides of the sexual fence that sexuality be considered as a form of communication.

He told the meeting that his own sexuality was a "body language". Like other languages, there were a variety of dialects, in this case homosexuality and heterosexuality, that could and must be learnt.

Volker Dieckmann
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 11 March 1985)

Union hits out at sexual harassment

A report by the British Trades Union Congress is referred to as well as a report by Sybille Plogstedt and Kathleen Bode, who have carried out research for the union.

The women's section concludes that sexual harassment is getting worse. Offences range from persistent psychological or emotional harassment to dismissals for resisting harassment.

It was now important to get the issue away from being regarded as a private affair between people and getting those affected to get together and put their case.

Sexual harassment is defined by the

One mountain Mohammed couldn't move

Mohammed's bid for a second year of married bliss has come to nothing. His attempt to bring a wife from Pakistan to add to the one he already has in Germany is just not on, a court has ruled.

Mohammed, 38, a Cologne business man, has been a West German citizen since 1977. In 1979, he married his first wife, a German lady now 60 years of age.

A few years ago, when Mohammed was back in Pakistan on holiday, he was alerted on a maidenly form to a 20 years his junior. They got married quite legally under Pakistani law.

The ways of the world being what they are, the girl is still in Pakistan. Mohammed's child, Ad and Mohammed's Muslim law in Pakistan, the court heard, allows a man to have four wives. But, the court ruled that the matter was in fact a matter of German law.

It also ruled as irrelevant the appeal given by the German wife for the husband in Pakistan to join them.

Under German law, the extra woman would have none of the normal protection afforded a wife.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 March 1985)

union as "unwanted and repeated offences, verbal or violent; and indecent advances or sexually discriminatory remarks which cause the victim to be threatened, humiliated, harassed or intimidated."

The union women explain that one looking sexually attractive was important. This was how a woman could attract a man and, through marriage, secure her future.

Nowadays, this was not so important. Women were able to support themselves and did not find it necessary to flaunt themselves.

The result was that many men found it harder to establish a sexual relationship. Harassment was a result.

Remarks which once would have been regarded as complimentary were now taken as sexually harassing.

This was all causing problems. Men no longer were certain how to behave. Frequently West Germans said by be removed if women themselves had social security services. In the past, which was acceptable and that was not.

A British TUC principle is quoted: "The more that the question of sexual harassment of union members, men and women, is openly discussed, the easier it will become to get rid of the problem from the workplace."

Plogstedt and Bode have produced a paperback for the union describing members' views.

These varied from "well-meaning cognition of the existence of the problem, but at the same time rejection of any union responsibility," to acceptance of the problem with the aim of making it a subject of union discussion, and working out a policy on it.

The latter is, of course, just what women of I G Metall are doing.

Wolf Gunter Brüggen

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 March 1985)

PLIGHTS

No place for Ekbar in paradise — nor anywhere else, either

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Ekbar does not want to return to Anatolia. He is almost 30 and for five years he has worked in the Federal Republic, half his lifetime.

Ekbar, his wife and two young sons are happy here, "in paradise", as he and his fellow countrymen believed, when they came to this country in their hundreds of thousands in order to earn money so as to have something to send them at home.

But times have changed. West Germany is no longer the country of the economic miracle. As in all other industrialised countries there is a problem of unemployment.

The 1973 oil crisis suddenly brought to light economic difficulties. There were not enough workers in the years of economic growth in the post-war period. Now there are too many.

Suddenly many companies no longer need the Italians, Greeks, Yugoslavs, and Spaniards who had been brought to the country to build up West Germany's affluent society in the 1950s and 1960s. These were the guest workers in 1973 a dam had to be erected against the flood of workers when recession was stopped.

But they still streamed into the country. They adjusted to staying here a long time, brought their wives and children and then many children were born.

Ekbar said: "Over many years the Federal Republic has become home to the work is good and so are our workmates."

When Ekbar goes for holidays back to Turkey he is homesick, homesick for Germany. Anatolia has become a foreign place for him.

There are today 4.33 million foreigners in West Germany. The largest group, 1.4 million, is made up of Turks. Over a half of the foreigners here have been in the country for more than three years. Three-fifths of their children were born here.

Of the 1.6 million guest workers, half are Turks, more than the Yugoslavs, number 290,000.

When there was competition for fewer jobs foreigners were increasingly not wanted in this country. They were the unemployed among them. Frequently West Germans said openly that they only made use of them for their social security services. In the past, they had got on very well with another.

This is the background to the Turks who are more and more seen as a burden here. Furthermore they have their own different way of life — they are deeply rooted in Islam for instance — which sets them apart. Many would only get rid of them.

The CDU/CSU/FDP government would also like to reduce the number of foreigners in the country — and not solely because of the unemployment situation. Government guidelines maintain that any union responsibility, to accept the problem with the aim of making it a subject of union discussion, and working out a policy on it.

The latter is, of course, just what women of I G Metall are doing.

Wolf Gunter Brüggen

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 March 1985)

Behind this is the fact that as from 1986 Turkey has associate

membership of the European Community. This guarantees all Turks the freedom to live and work in any of the Common Market countries.

The Turkish government has given assurances that there will be no insistence on freedom of movement from this target-date, but they have this right by international law.

Bonn wants to prevent a fresh wave of emigrants at any price. It is already official policy to induce foreigners here to return to their own countries never to come back and to stop new emigrants from coming in.

This is the aim behind the repatriation programme of the past few years. The decision to return home has been made slightly easier for foreigners with money for a new start in their native country. They can take their pension contributions without having to wait two years as they formerly had to.

Foreigners who were made jobless because of their employer went bankrupt and closed down the firm, or who have worked without a break for more than six months on half-time can apply for repatriation assistance at the labour office, DM10,500 and DM1,500 for each child.

Bonn has found support for this policy among many companies, particularly those organisations that are going through a crisis such as the steel industry.

They have added a bonus to the government repatriation programme, which spurs on workers to think about returning home.

The state-owned Salzgitter steel giant, for instance, that employed practically only Turks as guest workers. Close to 750 Salzgitter Turks have packed up and gone back to Turkey with a redundancy payment of DM10,000.

Nevertheless, say many citizens in this country, there are still too many here. The Turkish problem remains. They do not integrate. They live in ghettos and take jobs from West Germans. They should go back to where they came from. In the end there will not be enough jobs for Germans. These are some of the comments made.

Liselotte Funcke, the government commissioner responsible for foreigners has for years opposed these kind of remarks. She tries to explain to the know-alls that even when there is high unemployment foreign workers in the country have to be employed.

She knows what she is talking about. A glance at the statistics shows that the disliked guest worker slaves away in positions where West Germans, out of anxiety of moving down the social scale, are no longer prepared to work, in jobs that are physically or from a health point of view a strain, in heat and the cold, in noise and dust and on night shifts.

They work underground, in casting shops, in coking plant, in blast furnaces, as steel workers, as welders, in shipyards and on building sites. How would the railways get on without foreigners to

do the cleaning, and what would many local communities do without the Turkish dustmen. Most guest workers do the hard, dirty jobs. Many companies could not carry on without them, car companies, mining, textiles and plastic processing firms.

A fifth of the labourforce of 15,500 at the tyre company Conti Gummi in Hanover are foreigners. Of these every second one is a Turk.

A third of the pay roll at the tyre company of Vahrenwald is made up of foreigners. What would happen when they returned home in large numbers? The answer is clear: "We would have to close down." Foreigners have in the meantime become just as skilled and have just as much experience as their West German fellow workers. It would not be easy to replace them. It is not surprising that Conti is not prepared to participate in the Bonn repatriation programme.

But guest workers do not just get paid wages. They pay taxes and make contributions to social security. Thus they contribute to the financing of state security schemes and the pension fund that is in such trouble today.

Furthermore the foreigners give security to West German jobs — through consumption. If more were to return home, many here would suffer from a drop in turnover — the corner shop in the Linden district of Hanover, for instance, where many Turks live, the baker and the shop that deals in Turkish specialities.

The second-hand market would suffer as well, and department stores.

Foreigners have large families. They are big consumers. What is saved is put into the bank or transferred back home. Their money helps to pay for imports, and they support West German exports.

Schools and kindergartens would be emptied if there is a massive return home. Teaching jobs would be lost, many schools would perhaps have to close.

Population experts already know that in the next five years the number of school boys and girls will drop by almost a half. By the end of the century, it is estimated, the number of 16-year-olds at school, including foreigners, will drop to about sixty per cent of the present figure. The experts take the view that it will be more and more difficult to fill trainee posts in the future, even when because of rationalisation trainee positions and jobs disappear.

Liselotte Funcke says that in the best interests of our national economy for-

Continued from page 10

trick on his father. As soon as Johann Sebastian started to snore he played an unfinished chord on the harpsichord and ran away. His father immediately woke up, tortured by the half-finished chord.

He first fancied Emanuel might just have left in mid-chord to follow a call of nature. But when he didn't come back the old man grew increasingly upset.

In the end he got up in the dark from his warm bed and stumbled across to the harpsichord, played the missing note and went back to sleep.

Helmut Rilling
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 16 March 1985)

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Helmut Rilling

cign children must be encouraged at school and given training.

This indicates that the problem cannot be solved as easily as so many think. The call "Foreigners out" does not solve matters. In Bonn there is disillusionment after the euphoria at the success of the repatriation programme that was limited to June 1984.

First estimates show that about 140,000 guest workers left West Germany and about 300,000 foreigners in all, never to return. Nevertheless the programme will not be repeated.

Quite plainly the reason is money, so it is said in the Employment Ministry.

In a cautious re-calculation officials have been shocked to discover that state insurance organisations have had to provide about DM2.3 billion in pension contributions for foreigners. They had originally reckoned on between DM600 and DM700 million. This was a blow for pension funds that are already in trouble.

On the other hand the sum that the Labour Office in Nuremberg has had to make available, DM160 million, as repatriation assistance is regarded as quite modest.

In the long-term the pension insurance will be eased for the employers contributions made for foreign workers remain in the pension fund.

But despite the considerable number who have elected to return there has been bad blood. The matter is quite simple for Ekbar: "The generous offer from Bonn is regarded by the Turks as a payment to get rid of them. It is a bad business for those who go back, because after ten, twenty years, they have lost their pension rights."

Ekbar says that many of his fellow countrymen only took up the repatriation payment because they saw no chance for themselves in West Germany as unemployed. Their unemployed quota is 14.4 per cent, well above the national average of 10.5 per cent.

Ekbar added that many Turks have left because they were fed up with the Germans. He said: "This started with the not for foreigners notice when looking for living accommodation and goes on to the jokes about the Turks."

Nevertheless Ekbar has decided to stay, if only because of his children, who will get a better education here. Then he will look to the future. He can say this with certainty, because he has been lucky. He is a worker whom it is difficult to replace. His job is always safe.

He said: "We have made a life for ourselves here. We are not going to throw it all away."

Ekbar knows that many of his fellow countrymen have regretted returning to Turkey. They have to begin at the beginning all over again.

Despite the repatriation payment, money is often not enough to build up a new life, because relatives make claims on the rich Turks returning from West Germany.

And the Turkish state? The government does not welcome those returning with open arms. It has enough problems with an inflation rate of 50 per cent and an unemployment rate of close to 30 per cent, which can only be increased by those returning.

Furthermore there are fewer remittances from workers abroad, and these were essential to keeping the country's indebtedness down.

It is not surprising then, that the Ankara government would have preferred that the Turks living in West Germany should remain there.

Thus the Turkish guest workers are not wanted anywhere, neither in West Germany nor Turkey. They have an uncertain future here and there.

Carola Böse-Fischer
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 March 1985)

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(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 March 1985)

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